GREEKO-SLAVONIC LITERATURE.

Greeko-Slavonic.

ILCHESTER LECTURES

ON

GREEKO-SLAVONIC LITERATURE

AND ITS RELATION TO

THE FOLK-LORE OF EUROPE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

With two Appendices and Plates.

BY

M. GASTER, PH.D.

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TO

PROFESSOR G. I. ASCOLI

AND

PROFESSOR F. MIKLOSICH

This Book

IS

GRATEFULLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

The purpose of these Ilchester Lectures, delivered at Oxford in the spring of 1886, is to show, on a small scale, the importance of the Slavonic literature in the literary history of modern Europe, and likewise to call attention to the vast materials, hitherto untouched, which are preserved in the literature and folk-lore of the Slavonic nations.

In treating of the religious and popular literature, I confined myself to the most important texts and immediate sources. My references to authorities it would be very easy greatly to increase.

In another work, however, I contemplate the publication of all the Slavonic texts belonging to the apocryphal literature, in the form of an English translation, with copious notes and introductions.

In two appendices I have traced both the origin and history of the "Bible Historiale" and of the Glagolitic Alphabet from a wholly new point of view.

Finally, I take great pleasure in expressing my heartiest thanks to the Trustees of the Ilchester Fund for honouring me with the invitation to deliver these lectures at the far-famed University of Oxford. I value the honour all the more, as I had just arrived in England, an exile, banished by the Government from my native country of Roumania.

I wish also especially to thank Mr. I. Abrahams, who kindly assisted me in reading the proofs.

M. GASTER.

London, March 1887.

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GREEKO-SLAVONIC LITERATURE.

I.

To watch the rise of new nationalities or of new literatures is, without doubt, one of the most interesting spectacles; it is to see before one's eyes scattered elements being built up into a living organism, with all the marks of a characteristic individuality. Such a process of development is often presented to our gaze, though at a distance, when we seek to follow out the progress which one or other branch of culture has made in order to arrive at the form in which we at present have them,—as, for example, the origin of language, of writing, of civilisation. The same problem which such questions offer is likewise presented to us by the rise of any literature, in so far as it throws light on the modern poetic constructions of civilised nations. The question whether it is mechanical mixture or organic assimilation meets us at the very outset. Hence the investigation of sources is a characteristic of our critical age. We are chiefly interested in finding out what are the elements which the literary artist finds given to him, and which he proceeds to organise into a higher unity.

I.

To watch the rise of new nationalities or of new literatures is, without doubt, one of the most interesting spectacles; it is to see before one's eyes scattered elements being built up into a living organism, with all the marks of a characteristic individuality. Such a process of development is often presented to our gaze, though at a distance, when we seek to follow out the progress which one or other branch of culture has made in order to arrive at the form in which we at present have them,—as, for example, the origin of language, of writing, of civilisation. The same problem which such questions offer is likewise presented to us by the rise of any literature, in so far as it throws light on the modern poetic constructions of civilised nations. The question whether it is mechanical mixture or organic assimilation meets us at the very outset. Hence the investigation of sources is a characteristic of our critical age. We are chiefly interested in finding out what are the elements which the literary artist finds given to him, and which he proceeds to organise into a higher unity.

What is the part played by the unconscious poetic activity of the people? what that of the conscious art of the poet? Nay, we must proceed farther, and raise the question, which has hitherto been considered unnecessary: How far have the people any creative imaginative power? Do the peoples create independently of one another poetic products derived immediately from the influence of surrounding Nature? And how far can we assume this creative impulse in modern times?

The investigations which we include under the name of *Folk-lore* have had their beginning quite recently, and have, therefore, undergone considerable modifications and changes. It is the merit of the Romantic school in Germany, which arose at the end of the preceding century, to have directed attention to the hitherto neglected literature of the common people. Herder was the first to collect the folk-songs of many nations. Clemens and Brentano made collections of the German folk-songs, as Bishop Percy had done in his "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry." Thence they turned to other products of the popular imagination, especially to the fairy tales, then the sagas and legends, proverbs, riddles, and superstitions. First in these investigations, both in time and importance, were the brothers Grimm, to whom Germany owes so much. Hand in hand with the collection went the exploration of the popular literature, which had thus passed

from the nursery and the chimney-corner into the study of the scholar. Grimm, the creator of German mythology, is likewise the founder of the school which we may term the *Mythological.* According to this school, traces of the archaic Northern mythology have been preserved in the fairy tales and in the whole of folk-lore. The old gods and goddesses, dislodged from their thrones, have still survived in the form of demons, ghosts, elves, dwarfs, &c.; and the remarkable similarity of the fairy tales of all nations is explained on the assumption that their mythologies were originally identical.

By means of investigations into the Vedas, especially at the hands of Kuhn, a view of the ancient mythology was taken up which regards it as an incorporation of natural phenomena. The names of these phenomena, *Dyaus*, *Varuna*, &c., were accepted as gods and worshipped. Thus many mythological words have been shown to be metaphorical expressions for the sun, the moon, the clouds, and the rain. This having been shown for Hindu mythology, the method was then applied to Greek and Northern mythology, although the circumstances were here quite different; for among the Greek divinities were to be found many not of Aryan origin, as *Aphrodite* the Syrian *Militta* (=Moledta, the generatrix), or *Herakles* the Phœnician *Melkart.* The problem is still more

difficult in the case of the Northern mythology, which is of comparatively much later date, at any rate as regards its appearance in a written form. The fairy tales being now only obscure relics of the mythology, they must be explicable in the same manner, and must likewise be explained as sun, moon, and cloud myths. So, too, all the superstitions, customs, and generally the whole popular thought in all its manifold manifestations. All these, so far as they could not be connected with the dogmatical religion, were referred to the same mythological origin. Then, according to this view, the poets absorbed it from the people and developed it. This is the most wide-spread and most popular view of the origin of folk-lore, especially that of Europe.

To this I append another theory, which, from a chronological point of view, is the latest, but the principle of which is closely connected with the former. The most outspoken representative of this theory is Mr. A. Lang. He also considers fairy tales and customs as an ancient inheritance of every nation, further maintaining that they are nearly related to the mythology. So far this theory goes hand in hand with the Mythological; but the difference between the two is, that, according to this view, which I term *Prehistorical*, both myths and fairy tales as well as customs, are not the outcome of etymological speculations and the

embodiment of natural phenomena, but the relics of a primitive state of savagery.

The proofs adduced in support of this *Prehistorical* theory are analogies and comparisons with similar, or what are presumed to be similar, tales and beliefs current among primitive tribes and uncultured nations of the far East. This analogy between them is thus explained as the result of a similar intellectual development, where the one retained the primitive form better and clearer than the other, and these tales are only like the flint-stone chips covered by a later stratum of culture.*

But in the same way as our modern philology does not allow us to compare directly French or English with Sanskrit or Zend, but retraces step by step the history of their evolution, in the same way can we not compare our tales and customs directly with those belonging to a tribe far distant in time and in space, of which we neither know the age nor the connection, where many links in the chain are missing, if there is a chain at all.

This theory rests, then, like the Mythological, upon the presumption that all that we call now-a-days folk-lore is of hoar antiquity, and the genuine property of every nation. Both will be, therefore, shaken to their foundations if we succeed by a closer inquiry to prove that it is often the result of a long development; that it is relatively modern, and that the similarity between the European and

the primitive and tribal folk-lore is a deceptive one, or ought to be explained in quite another way.

Indeed, the Mythological theory, and in this way the Prehistorical too, received a severe blow from another, which I term the *Theory of Migration.*

Benfey, in his celebrated introduction to the *Pantchatantra,* applied first this theory to the greatest part of European folk-tales, tracing them to their Oriental origin and proving their comparatively recent date. They passed, as he shows, from nation to nation, very often *in written form,* and from this passed to the people, among whom they were assimilated more and more to the peculiarities of each nation. The same contents received a different and a national form.*

The folk-tales have now no longer claim to be considered as mythological, and the influence to which they owed their origin was quite the opposite of this. For the most part, they became the common property of the European nations through *literary transmission.* This has been proved, further, for many modern fairy tales. Thus Boccaccio's tale of "Griseldis" has been followed till it became a fairy tale. Thus, too, the story of Genevieve, ori-

* In a remarkable essay Professor Max Müller has carried out the same line of thought, and has shown the travels of an Eastern tale through a number of literatures, till it reached Lafontaine, and followed its traces step by step till the story becomes more and more Europeanised and nationalised.

ginally a miracle of the Holy Virgin, has likewise become a fairy tale. Examples of this might be easily multiplied, showing clearly the influence of written literature on oral tradition.

Proceeding a step farther, we may apply this theory of migration, or better, this *Historical* theory, not only to the fairy tales to which it was confined, but also to the other branches of popular literature, like sagas, legends, adventures, and superstitions, and finally to the Northern mythology itself. Cannot the foreign and literary origin of this be proved? Are all those marvellous tales and fabulous beings originally European? Is the naïve poetic world of the common folk filled with superstitions, creeds, and legends regarding the most unnatural and unexpected events as the most ordinary things in the world, the remainder and residue of an old, forgotten mythology, and of a more ancient state of savagery? or have they been brought on the crest of a mighty wave of culture to the furthermost shores of Europe, and thus form *one stratum* in all the peoples of Europe? Can we not in this way explain their similarity to one another?

The very advance of our spiritual and imaginative life hides from us any direct vision of this development. Much has been destroyed, and we must deal with the remainder as with a palimpsest. We have to take in hand some decomposing principle which shall remove the more recent writing

and enable us to decipher the faded relics of the older signs. But that which eludes our grasp in the West of Europe is offered to us in rich profusion by the East, especially the South-East, with its own peculiar culture. The Greeko-Slavic world has remained in nearly the same condition as Europe was when it was ruled solely by *Christian* thought and by *Christian* civilisation alone. While the West has advanced farther, the Greeko-Slavic world has remained at this point, and accordingly its literature is to us of peculiar interest, as it enables us to observe accurately the process by which a written literature, generally of foreign origin, influences oral folk-literature. We see the alien element accepted and assimilated, the popular imagination gradually enriched. We can then observe the reaction of this latter on poetic genius, which takes in the feelings and thoughts of the people, and expresses them in elevated and elevating artistic form.

I term the body of literature with which I contemplate dealing the *Greeko-Slavonic*, because it is confined to works translated from the Greek into Slavic tongues, and where we have, therefore, the *literary sources* beyond any doubt.

Bulgaria, as we shall see in the short historical sketch with which I conclude this work, was, after a struggle for centuries, incorporated into Byzantium, and the influence of Greek, already great, became

the sole influence for two centuries. The whole literature was modelled after the Greek, and even later, after independence had been secured under the Asenides, Greek retained much of its power. Thus arose the literature which we term for this reason *Greeko-Slavonic.*

This literature is not only that of the Bulgarians, but is also the Church literature of the Servians, Croatians, Roumanians, and Russians; and it began early to spread over these lands. The Old Slavonian tongue in which it is written has remained the holy or Church language of these lands up to the present day, except in Roumania, where it was superseded in the seventeenth century by the vernacular. Thus this literature, together with the Greek, offers the counterpart of the Latin civilisation, favoured in a far higher degree, as this was, by social and political circumstances.

Besides the interest which this literature affords us, as I have sketched out above, as regards folk-lore and the history of civilisation, it also gives material of no small critical worth for dealing with Greek, and especially Middle Greek literature. Many a work of the Byzantine period has been preserved for us in an improved form because it was early translated into Slavonic. Modern science, both in profane and in ecclesiastical history, has begun to make use of these Slavonic texts for critical purposes as yet only in a sporadic manner, as

both the extent of this literature and its language have prevented access to foreign investigators.

I select from the whole field of Greeko-Slavonic literature, not the dogmatical, but rather that portion which shows a *living course of development*, and brings before our eyes an example of the process by which the spiritual wealth of a people is increased. By this means the clue will be given us to many an imaginative product which we meet with in folk-lore, and which we have hitherto regarded as the peculiar property of the people, or as the survival of earlier mythological conceptions. Investigation into these matters is only in its infancy, and we have first to settle the facts, if we do not wish to lose ourselves in the field of vague hypotheses. It is, therefore, the heretical and poetical literature that will engage our attention, likewise derived from the Greek, yet powerfully influencing not alone the Bulgarians, but also all the other nations who came in contact with the Old Slavonian language and literature. Many traces will be seen in the mediæval literature of Western Europe, and I hope to be able to prove that *the religious literature* was the most important factor in this branch of the development of European civilisation, and that the influence of the Old Slavonian literature was just as important and decisive towards the West as it was towards the East. The results at which we shall arrive will accordingly

permit of an application to the whole literature of the Middle Ages, in which many points will appear under an entirely new light.

The fantastic and imaginative apocryphal literature, the romances and epics, the didactic fables, were touched by wide religious movements in Bulgaria, and have exercised a deep influence on the imagination of the nations. Folk-lore arose out of a *written* literature, whose traces we meet with in saga and romance, in religious and epic poems, in riddles and tales, and even in popular beliefs, customs, and habits. In the following pages I shall attempt to sketch this literature in a brief outline, devoting the greatest attention to the most conspicuous points, as well as to those least known in Western Europe. Within the circle of our investigations we shall thus include the Apocrypha of the Old and New Testament, the literature of history, legend, and amulets, and lastly, the literature of the fable, as it was transformed from literature into folk-lore.

II.

THE BOGOMILISM; ITS SPREAD AND INFLUENCE. — THE APOCRYPHA OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

II.

At the same time with the culmination of the Bulgarian power and the Bulgarian literature (which I shall portray at the end of these lectures) began a powerful religious movement, which was accompanied by results of far-reaching consequence. I refer to the heretical movement known under the name of *Bogomilism*, which ruled Bulgaria for not less than five centuries, and left indelible traces in the spiritual life of the Slavonic nations.

A more thorough-going investigation of this movement in its spread throughout Europe leads us to still more astonishing results. We come across traces of it everywhere, and a good part of the religious literature which later on became folk-literature may be traced back to the influence of these heretical sects. Even the romances of chivalry, when divested of their trappings, show themselves as Oriental tales that have found their way (always a long way, and often a dark one) through many intermediaries to the place where they are now found.

As this view of mine is more or less novel, I will permit myself to enter into it in some detail. This

is the more permissible as we are dealing at the same time with the earliest and least altered literary remains of the Slavonic literature upon which I am called to lecture, and these form besides the greater part of it.

At the time of the conversion of the Bulgarians to Christianity, there were to be found at the Bulgarian court ambassadors or missionaries from the Paulicians or Manichæans of Asia Minor. In addition to these there were a number of Jews, who had also come to convert the people to their belief, while they were still hesitating about Christianity. The Paulicians had settled in Thrace at an earlier date. The Emperor Constantine Copronymos transported a large number of them in the eighth century from Asia Minor, and thus at the same time transplanted the seed of Manichæism in the modified form introduced by Constantine of Samosata. The success of these Paulicians, as they termed themselves, was very great, and in the tenth century they had there six churches. This religious movement attained to particular importance through the appearance of the priest (Popa) Jeremiah (c. 940), who called himself *Bogo-mil*, i.e., *Theo-philus*, like the disciple of St. Paul. After him his followers termed themselves *Bogomili*, and Bogomilism kept a foremost place in the history of the Balkan peninsula for many centuries. In Bulgaria itself it became so powerful in a short time, that councils were fre-

quently assembled at Sofia to oppose its heresies. But all these efforts were in vain. Bogomilism had taken too deep a root in the heart of the people; its power could not be destroyed. This movement spread even farther. Thrace became the cradle of an analogous movement throughout Europe. The apostles of Bogomilism carried their creed first to the coast of the Adriatic, then to Italy, whence the movement spread to Germany and Southern France, and even as far as England, where at Oxford in the twelfth century a council was summoned by Henry II. to take steps to eradicate a new kind of heresy which had made its appearance in London and York. Under different names we find practically the same heretical sects from the tenth to the thirteenth century in the following places:—In Bulgaria, Macedonia, and even on the Black Sea, and in Russia towards the east: in the West, in Italy, especially in Lombardy, Mantua, Verona, Treviso, Bergamo, Milan, Piacenza, Ferrara, Bologna, Faenza, and Orvieto; in France, throughout the south, but also in Paris, Orleans, Rheims, and Brittany; and in Belgium and Holland, and over the whole basin of the Rhine—Metz, Strassburg, Cologne, Bonn, Triers, and Goslar. We have already referred to England.* It is clear that this movement was a lasting one, and could not have been without enduring influence.

* Wesselofsky, Solomon i Kitovras, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 142 *seq.*

These sectarians called themselves simply "Good People," "Good Christians," "Christian Poor;" by others they were named *Bogomils, Manichæans, Paulicians, Patarenes* in Italy, *Kathars* in France and Germany (whence the German *Ketzer*), and likewise Bulgarians (whence the French *Boulgres, Bougre*). All this shows that they everywhere retained relations with their spiritual fatherland, and that the leaders of the movement in Bulgaria were recognised by them as authorities. Thus, in the year 1167, Nikita, the bishop of the Bogomils of Constantinople, issued a summons for a council of the French *Kathars* to be held in Toulouse.

A survey of their doctrines also shows the same unity of belief among them. Their fundamental principle was Oriental dualism as developed by Mani. It is still undecided whether and how far Buddhist influences were also at work. This world they regarded as the work of *Satanael, i.e.*, of Satan-God, who is a fallen angel. The misery of this world is therefore his work, as he fights against the good and tries to destroy everything. But redemption had come with Christ; the Old Covenant, which Adam had made with Satanael, had been broken by Christ. But only the Bogomils or Kathars (*i.e.*, Pure Ones) are the true followers of His teaching, and man could only attain to holiness by entering their communion, and by this means he could save his soul from

farther transmigration through human bodies; for *metempsychosis* formed part of their belief. They therefore laid upon themselves all kinds of mortifications, and their leaders and old men lived as ascetics. On the other hand, they threw over the doctrines of the dominant Church, based their faith more upon the Holy Writ, excluded the cross from their religious symbols, and advocated freedom from the domination of the Catholic Church and of the nobility. Eschatology formed also a favourite topic of theirs—the theory of the Last Things. Thus the two extremes of creation and destruction, beginning and end, cosmogony and eschatology, the fall and the redemption, formed the chief subjects of their thought, and likewise the chief contents of their preaching.

Their views about an evil principle found ready acceptance among the serfs, while their antagonistic attitude towards the Church and the nobility made them acceptable to the opponents of both institutions. If we add that they propagated their doctrines chiefly and solely in the vernacular languages, and that they clothed their views in the guise of fantastic and poetic tales, we can then form some idea of the deep impression their doctrines must have made. This is confirmed by history when it speaks of a crusade against the Albigenses and of one against the Bosnian heretics, to which the whole of Christendom had to be

summoned by the Pope. And yet it was not completely stamped out; we find an echo of the movement in the Flagellants and the Hussites. Europe had been shaken to its very depths by the Crusades just before, and by this means the soil had been prepared for this new heretical movement.

Now in the literature of this period we notice a remarkable transformation. The old epic songs of the cycle of Charlemagne gave way to new poems filled with adventure and imagination; songs and sagas free from the fetters of space and time make their appearance; a whole cycle of popular religious literature arises. Can all this be accidental and without any relation to the heretical movement? Hitherto investigators, with but few exceptions, have not thought of any connection between the two.

But a careful examination of the chief elements of their origin shows us that in most of them we have only the disguised figures of other well-known pieces. Merlin and Arthur, as well as Marculph and Saturn, are no other than Solomon and Asmodeus. In the saga of the Holy Grail we have echoes of Oriental tales. And more; the same influence is found in folk-songs and in popular manners and customs. The mediæval belief in Satan, with its outcome, witchcraft, as we shudder to see it in the protocols of the Inquisition, is the

child of the dualism of the Kathars and Bogomils. Here we find the rule of Satanael on earth as a kind of counterpart of the rule of God in heaven. It was but a short step to worship him, so as to obtain favour with him, or, on the other hand, to make amulets as a protection against his power.

The literary activity of the Bogomils was indeed by no means slight. Popa Jeremiah himself is said to have written much, *e.g.*, the "Legend of the Cross," "How Christ became Pope," &c. But the chief use was made of the Apocryphal writings, which were translated from the Greek, or rather revised in a sense corresponding to their wishes.

They were even very well read in the Holy Scriptures, and at one time their bishop in Bulgaria boasted that there was not a *single one* among his 4000 disciples who did not know the Scriptures by heart. Now it is a very remarkable fact that the earliest translations of the Bible into the vernacular languages, especially into French and Italian, were not made from the Latin Vulgate, but without doubt from the Greek, or from one of the translations derived from it. In all probability they came from the Kathars, and were possibly translated from the Slavonian. And, in fact, we can easily explain this; for every religious reform begins with the study of the Bible; and again, these sects could only influence the common people by means of the vernacular. We may now go a

step farther, and ask what kind of Bible was it which they used? Did they confine themselves to the simple translation of the text, or did they rather adorn and amplify it so as to suit their views and to make it more pleasant and accessible to the people whom they wished to convert?

From the earliest times, as soon as the Bible had become the Book, κατ' ἐξοχην, the source of all faith and knowledge, the naïve readers could not remain satisfied with its plain contents, often incomplete, and at times seemingly contradictory. Many of its stories were too short, many names merely mentioned in the Bible: on these points pious curiosity needed to be satisfied. The reader would ask: How did Adam plough the earth, for he could have no knowledge of that art? How did Cain know about death, and how did his parents bury Abel, for previously there had been neither death nor burial? Again, what is meant by saying that God took Enoch? What was the punishment of Cain? Who was Melchisedek, and why was he called a priest? Such questions could be asked *ad infinitum.* As a consequence, a number of legends arose already in earliest times, intended to fill these lacunæ and find answers to all these questions. These form the *Apocryphal Literature,* which only became of practical importance when it was adapted by heretical sects to their own needs. These tales were often of a poetic cast,

derived from the popular taste and glowing imagination, which made them most suitable for a wide circulation among the people. The heretics altered various points in them in agreement with the views which they professed. And since these Apocrypha were represented as the work of Biblical personages, the doctrines and sayings put in their mouths gained additional influence. For this reason the Apocrypha were particularly favoured by all sects, whereas the Orthodox Church often condemned them, as in the well-known *Decreta Gelasii*, the lists of Athanasius and Nicephorus.

It is thus by no means surprising that we find the greater part of these Apocrypha in the Old Slavonian literature of the Bogomils, and for the most part with very slight alterations, which increases their value for critical purposes. Some of these are even attributed to Popa Jeremiah himself, among them the "Legend of the Cross," as I have already mentioned. As we shall see, however, he merely altered older Apocrypha to accord with his views.

The original sources of this literature, which travelled through Europe and left permanent traces of its influence on literature, poetry, painting, and sculpture, are Greek texts, which came to Constantinople from the East and passed on thence to the Bogomils. A second source, equally Oriental in its origin, was supplied by Jewish legends, found in

the Haggadical writings, and in particular in a book called *Sepher Hayashar*. This book, which has the title of a work quoted in the Bible (Joshua x. 13), is a kind of *Biblical history*, wherein Genesis and Exodus are completed by numerous ancient legends, which are mostly incorporated without alteration. Thus the Biblical history becomes a Biblical romance; truth and fiction are inextricably mixed, and form together a complete Bible adapted to pious readers. It did not, however, prevent separate sections existing in independent form—as, for example, the story of Abraham and Nimrod, the struggles of the sons of Jacob with the inhabitants of Palestine, the legends of the birth and death of Moses, &c., &c.

Precisely the same thing we have before us in the Old Slavonian literature of the Bogomils. We have special Apocryphal writings attributed to various personages; we have also—though this has been hitherto unknown—an Old Slavonian Bible-story, in which all these legends form one whole, and which enjoyed enormous popularity and wide-spread circulation. This Bible-story, called *Palæa* (*i.e.*, *Παλαία Διαθήκη*), may have been originally copied from a Greek model, but in its existent and perhaps extended form it contains several legends which are almost literally translated from the *Sepher Hayashar*. This *Palæa* belongs probably to the tenth century, and is thus several centuries

older than the corresponding works in Germany and France. These are independent of Comestor's work *Historia Scholastica*, which, as I may incidentally remark, usurped later on the name of the *Biblia Historiale*. The *Speculum Historiale* of St. Vincent of Beauvais is likewise a kind of Bible-story. Neither of these have hitherto been satisfactorily traced to their origin. It is only natural to assume that, like the earliest translations of the Bible, these Bible-stories may have been derived from the heretical sects, especially as these Bible-stories would find an even easier access to the people owing to their legendary and poetic form. It is, of course, also possible that they were afterwards revised and freed from their heretical elements. A few traces of these still remain, *e.g.*, a cosmogony varying in order and in details from that of Genesis. Other details confirming this view must be here omitted, as I devote a special chapter to a more close inquiry into the origin and the sources of these Bible-histories.* I must content myself here with these short hints and revert to the story Bible as it appears in Slavonic literature.

As I have already remarked, this contains a number of Old Testament Apocrypha, to which it is confined. Instead of going through them all, I will select some of them of special importance for their wide-spread or deep influence, and follow

* Appendix A.

these through the stages of their development till they become part and parcel of the popular mind. I reserve the Apocrypha of the New Testament for the next chapter, as they present peculiar features, and form a transition to the literature of amulets.

Looking to the cosmogony,* we find that it presents an unusual form. On the first day God created heaven and earth; on the second, sun, moon, and stars; on the third, paradise; on the fourth, the sea; on the fifth, birds and beasts; on the sixth, Adam; and on the seventh God breathed into him the breath of life. It is, as it were, a counterpart of St. Basil's *Hexaëmeron*, which attempted to explain the creation according to the Bible. The fallen angels then occupy a large space, but I must here pass them over, as they do not offer anything special, and the legend never existed as a separate Apocryphon.

Of still greater length and of far wider importance are the legends which deal with the creation of man, his fall, repentance, and death. The mind of Christendom has always laid great weight upon all this, in order to reach its scheme of redemption, to which everything in the Biblical stories had to refer, as the goal of human fate. Beginning and end of the process had to be combined, and the pious required a prophetic glimpse of the final redemption while dealing with the

* Tihonravov, Pamjatniki otrečennoi russkoi literatury, St. Petersburg, Moscau, 1863, ii. p. 443 *seq.*

beginning of sin. This association of ideas, perceiving in the Biblical history a religious drama, where the restoration of the fallen humanity is foreshadowed in the Old Testament and fulfilled in the New Testament, is an essential characteristic of this heretical literature, to which I will revert, and which I hope will give us the key for the origin of the mediæval *Biblia Historiale*, and in connection with it the "Bible of the Poor." Hence the extent and number of apocryphal tales dealing with this episode. These received various names, such as *Historia Adæ et Evæ*, or the "Legend of the Cross," or the "Pilgrimage of Seth to Heaven." In Slavonic we have, in the first place, the creation of man told in the favourite form of question and answer, as we find it frequently in the Middle Ages, especially in the so-called *Lucidarius*. In a fifteenth-century copy of this Slavonic text* we read as follows:—

"*Question.* What holds up the earth?

"*Answer.* The water.

"*Question.* And what the water?

"*Answer.* A mighty rock.

"*Question.* And what the mighty rock?

"*Answer.* Four golden fishes (whales).

"*Question.* And what the fishes?

"*Answer.* A stream of fire.

"*Question.* And what holds the fire?

* Tihonravov, l.l.

"*Answer.* A fire double as hot.

"*Question.* And what holds up this fire?

"*Answer.* An iron tree, which was the first thing created, and its roots are supported by God."

Then comes the cosmogony, which we have given, only it is in the form of question and answer, which continue as follows:—

"*Question.* How did God create Adam?

"*Answer.* Out of eight things: earth, sea, stone, wind, sun, thought, the speed of the angels, and finally from the Holy Ghost."

This is made clearer in another MS. of the same age. "The body is made out of earth, the blood from the sea, the eyes from the sun, the thoughts from the clouds, the bones of stone, the breath from the wind, fertility from fire, and the living spirit out of God Himself." *

Both of these accounts have now-a-days become the common property of the people among all the Slavonic nations. These as well as the Roumanians repeat them in their songs, creeds, and in their religious ideas, and I might quote innumerable examples if I dared linger over this point. Even to the present day the people explain an earthquake as a movement of the fish on which the earth rests. Even in the popular recitations at Roumanian weddings the origin of man is described exactly in the same way as the above.

* Pypin, Očerku literaturnoi istorii starinyhu povêstei, St. Petersburg, 1858, p. 140.

The tree on which the earth stands is of Oriental origin, and occurs again in Northern mythology in the form of the *Ygdrasil.* There we find a parallel account of the creation of man, but in inverted order: the giant *Ymir* creates the world out of his own limbs, the sea out of his own blood, the mountains out of his bones, the rocks out of his teeth, the heavens out of his skull, the clouds out of his humour, and the trees out of his hair.* A corresponding cosmogony is to be found among the Manichæans,† according to whom the world was created out of the first man, the *Urmensch* of the Germans, the *Adam Kadmon* of the Jews. It also occurs in popular Russian literature, in the celebrated *Golubinaya Kniga,* in which the most heterogeneous elements have been combined into an epic whole, and which may be regarded as the outcome of a whole cycle of apocryphal stories. I will therefore give it complete in a literal translation at the end of the treatment of the apocryphal literature.

After Adam and Eve had been created by God, they were tempted by Satan in the form of a snake with a woman's head; they fell into sin, and were driven out of Paradise. All this, together with their repentance and their contract with Satan, forms the so-called "Confession of Eve"

* Grimm, Germ. Mythology, ed. iv., p. 464 *seq.*

† Flügel, Mani, p. 87 *seq.*, and the annotations.

(*Ispovedanye Evyne*), which is also an introduction to the "Legend of the Cross," and indeed represents a peculiar treatment of it. Its contents are plainly dualistic, which settles its origin without difficulty. Slightly condensed, it runs as follows:*—

"Eve tells her children that when God had created everything, all things stood under her rule, and no beast dared to touch her. But then came the Devil in the form of a bright angel and tried to seduce her. She repulsed him, and then came the serpent as a bright angel and offered her the forbidden fruit. She trusted in the serpent, as favoured by God, and ate, and gave some to Adam. Immediately the leaves fell from all the trees except the fig-tree. Then God drove them from Paradise. The Archangel Ioil interceded for Adam and Eve in vain. They stood for a fortnight before the gates of Paradise, and then had to leave in order to find something to eat, but they found only thistles. So they returned to Paradise, and Adam complained of the good fortune which he had lost, and begged God to give him at least a flower as a remembrance of it. God therefore sent to him incense (*ladan* and *liban*). At their further request, God sent them the Archangel Ioil, and he gave them the seventh part of Paradise for them to work in; at the same time he sent all the animals out of Paradise, and gave them to Adam. Adam, however, had scarcely

* Gaster, Literatura populara romana, Bucuresti, 1883, p. 271 *seq.*

begun to plough the earth, when Satan appeared and said, 'The earth is mine: Paradise and heaven belong to God. If you are willing to become mine, you may till the earth; but if you wish to belong to God, go back to Paradise.' Adam answered, 'The earth and the heavens are God's.' The Devil said, 'Give me a written agreement that you are my property, and I will leave you.' And Adam said, 'I and my children belong to Him whose is the earth.' Thereupon the Devil rejoiced, and broke a stone and wrote this upon it. (Another variant makes Adam place his hand upon it, leaving a trace of it on the stone.) The Devil preserved this stone in the Jordan, and placed four hundred devils to guard it. When the Saviour came, He placed Himself on this stone when He was baptized in the Jordan, and broke it, so that the agreement between Adam and the Devil was at an end.

"Adam now went before the gates of Paradise and cried and mourned; at last he determined to do penance. Eve went to the river Tigris and stood in it forty days; nevertheless the Devil tried to deceive her twice, once in the form of an angel, the other time in that of Adam. After the forty days Adam came himself, who had done penance in the Jordan, and removed her; thus they were both freed from the Devil. Many years passed by; Adam became ill; his children assembled around

them and asked them what was the matter, for they had never before seen anybody ill. Eve said that he had a longing for the fruits of Paradise, and that this was the cause of his illness. Thereupon Seth determined to go to Paradise and bring something thence to satisfy his father. He came there, and obtained from the angel a branch of the tree of which they had eaten. Adam recognised the tree, drew a deep sigh, and waved the branch round his head and died. Three angels with lights came to bury him. After these angels had prayed for a long time, God received the soul of Adam graciously. Adam was then buried by Seth in the spot called *Gherusia Plata.* A voice called out to Adam, 'Remember what I said to you: Earth thou art, and unto earth thou shalt return.' The voice called out to the earth, 'It is thine, and was formed from thee: to thee all things return.' And Eve died six days after. Out of Adam's head a huge tree grew."

The source of this narrative is the so-called *Apocalypse of Moses;** but this does not contain the characteristic point of the contract between Adam and Satan, in which the dualistic principle is clearly expressed. *Every single episode* of this tale occurs again in varied form in popular literature. The complaint of Adam is everywhere repeated wherever this story reached—in Bulgaria,

* Tischendorf, Apocalypses Apocryphæ, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 1-32.

Servia, Roumania, and Russia. Curiously enough, the contract survived in nearly literal form in most of the reproductions. A part of these popular songs became *star-songs*, or, as they are called in England, *Christmas carols*. Iconography also made use of the legend, and Russian pilgrims often refer to the stone on which Christ stood at His baptism.

In close connection with this legend stands the "Legend of the Cross," one of the most wide-spread and celebrated of the Middle Ages. It is found in Latin MSS. of the twelfth century, and finds a place in Provençal, Italian, German, and English literature. The legend in its simplest form is part of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, and it has often been versified. References to it are to be found in Dante. It was made the subject of a poem by Gottfried and Viterbo, and of a drama by Calderon. It is, of course, accepted by the Bogomils, and attributed to Popa Jeremiah, their founder. In Old Slavonic it is still extant in two forms, of which one is by Gregorius Theologus, the other by a certain Severian Gavalski. I will here give the version which comes nearest to the original Bogomilist form, and is more extensive than the parallels of Western Europe. In the Old Slavonian version the history of all the three crosses is given, whereas in the West only that of the Saviour is dealt with. Brought into proper order,* the legend runs as follows :—

* *Cf.* Wesselofsky, Razyskanija, St. Petersburg, 1883, x. pp. 367–424.

"When God created the world, only He and *Satanael* were in existence. The latter stole some of all the seeds which God sowed in the earth, and planted them in Paradise. Thereupon God drove him out of Paradise, and Satanael became black. From the seeds he had planted rose a mighty tree with three branches; one belonging to Adam, the other to Eve, and the third to God. At the Fall, Adam's branch fell into the Tigris, and was taken out therefrom; Eve's was carried by the Flood to a place called Merra. After the death of Adam, Seth kindled a perpetual fire in his memory by the side of the tree, and placed wild beasts to guard it. When Lot sinned, Abraham set him as a penance to bring three logs from the tree, to plant them and tend them with water, which he should bring in his mouth. His sin would be forgiven when the logs had grown. They grew into a mighty tree. Moses took the second root, and with it made sweet the bitter waters of Marah. Both the trees were brought to Jerusalem by King Solomon to be used in the building of the Temple, but they could not be adapted to that purpose. At times they were too short, at times too long. On one of them Queen *Sivila* (*i.e.*, of Sheba) sate and burnt herself, whereupon the trees were hidden in the Temple. It was on these trees that the two thieves were crucified, the good thief on Lot's, and the wicked one on Eve's.

"Now Seth had brought a branch of the third tree to his father, who made himself a crown out of it, in which he was buried. Out of this grew a wonderful tree, with three trunks that yet formed but one. This tree was brought by the demons to Solomon, who by this means obtained possession of Adam's skull, which was in the roots of the tree. This was so huge that a servant of Solomon once took refuge in it from a storm. Solomon ordered the skull to be brought to Jerusalem, and to be stoned. This was the origin of the place called *Lithostroton* (also Golgotha). This tree also was of no use for building purposes, and was taken up. It became the Cross of the Saviour. When Christ was crucified on it, His blood fell through the rock upon the head lying beneath, thus freeing Adam from sin, and redeeming him."

This is the Slavonic form of the legend, and there can be no doubt as to how it arose. The mention of *Satanael* alone would prove its heretical origin, and still more the whole line of thought, so far as it is preserved after the orthodox revision that it has undergone. It is only from the standpoint of Bogomilism, which rejected the cross, that we can explain the planting of it being attributed to *Satanael*, or the trait that the demons brought it to Jerusalem.

Of the other episodes I will only linger over that relating to Lot, which reminds us of Aaron's rod,

and which, in the form of a symbol of repentance, has spread so far. Who does not remember the saga of Tannhäuser, or the innumerable Slavonic, Roumanian, German, and French legends in which the blossoming tree is a sign of sin and forgiveness?* Still more numerous are the legends in which the appearance of blossoms on dead branches is mentioned, though these are undoubtedly derived from the Biblical story. Among others, I may mention a saga about Charlemagne, which is preserved in Turpin's Chronicle. Saints innumerable have performed the same miracle, and even the beginning of Bohemian history is connected with a similar miracle.

I must pass over other apocryphal stories, and can only refer to the rich embellishment which the stories of Cain, Lamech, Noah, and others received. Melchisedek, who is specially mentioned in the New Testament, is represented by three Apocrypha, which aim at explaining his omission of the name of his parents and his character as "priest of God." The best known is that translated from the Greek of Athanasius, which represents him meeting Abraham in the beginning and being selected as priest by the latter.

A favourite theme was the life of Abraham, his destruction of the idols of Nineveh, his contest with Nimrod, and so on up to his death. With

* Gaster, *l. c.*

regard to the last topic, we have in Slavonic literature an Apocryphon which, so far as is at present known, has not been found in Greek, though there can be no doubt that it originally existed in that language. It is there described how Abraham was taken up into heaven, and saw there the judgment of men after death; he returns to earth, and struggles against death with all his might. Death appears to him in an attractive form, and finally deceives him into drinking his cup of poison. Founded on an earlier Oriental legend dealing with the death of Moses, this Apocryphon forms a model of a whole series of similar imaginative products portraying the struggle between man and death, and the final victory of the latter. Almost all literatures present examples of this, especially in the form of folk-songs. In modern Greek, the conflict of the hero *Aniketos* (Russian, *Anika-voyn*) or *Digenis Akritas* with Charon and with death forms the subject of such songs. I may also remind you of the *danses macabres* of the Middle Ages, of Titian's celebrated picture, &c. The counterpart of this, the flight of the hero to the land of the immortals, is an equally wide-spread theme from Ireland to India. But we cannot linger here, nor even on the Testaments of the twelve sons of Jacob (of which we have a Slavonic translation of the fourteenth century, of importance for the criticism of the Greek text), nor at

the minor legends about Moses, but must pass on at once to the legends about Solomon, which are of such importance in the history of literature.

The Biblical accounts of the wisdom and riches of Solomon, the visit of the Queen of Sheba, the building of the Temple, and so on, caused him, even in early times, to be made the hero of a whole cycle of legends, round which other stories and legends, derived from various sources, crystallised. These in their turn underwent so many changes in their wanderings towards Europe, that it often requires a special investigation before we can recognise the original legend in its latest form. I will draw attention to two of the episodes, because one of them had great influence on Russian epic poetry, and the other is connected with the saga of Merlin and with Bertoldo. Let us begin with the latter.*

"In order to build the Temple, Solomon tried to get *Kitovras* (*i.e.*, Kentauros), the chief of the demons, into his power. His general seized Kitovras, bound him with a chain, on the links of which the name of God was written, and brought him to Jerusalem. They went straight on, but as they would have destroyed the house of a widow if they had continued to do so, Kitovras broke one of his ribs in two in order to avoid it. He heard a man asking for shoes which should last seven years; he

* Wesselofsky, Solom. i Kitovras, p. 209 *seq.*

burst out laughing. He sees a prophet; he laughs again. He sees a wedding; he weeps. Finally, he guides a drunkard the right way. When brought before Solomon, he casts at his feet a rod four feet in length. He explains to Solomon that the bird *Nogot* possesses the worm *Shamir*, by which stones can be split without the aid of iron, the use of which was forbidden in the Temple. He then explained what had happened. He had laughed at the buyer of shoes, because he had only seven days to live. The prophet stood over a treasure, and promised good luck to other people when he could not tell his own. The newly married bride would die in three days; and the drunkard was a just man, of whom it was said in heaven that he was worthy of protection. The rod gave the length of the grave which would receive Solomon at his death, though he was now so ambitious of power."

This remarkable tale is originally Talmudical, where the demon is called *Ashmedai*, here Kitovras, from the Greek *Kentauros*. The story occurs in a German form under the name of *Solomon and Markolph*, and develops into a mere dialogue between a king and a sharp-witted but vulgar man. Between the two we have the saga of Merlin, in which Merlin plays the part of Ashmedai-Kitovras; for he is brought before King Arthur, goes through the same exploits on the way, and

explains them during the interview.* We have, further, the dialogue between *Ben Sira* and *Nebukadnezar*, and in a later form, in Anglo-Latin, a dialogue between Saturn and Marolph, and a still later development in *Bertoldo*, the well-known Italian chapbook.

Still more like a romance is the other specifically Slavonic story of *Solomon and Kitovras* or *Solomon and Por*. This runs as follows :—Kitovras hears of the beauty of Solomon's wife, and sends a magician to bewitch her. He succeeds, and brings her to Kitovras. Solomon comes in disguise, after he had arrayed his army dressed in three uniforms before the city. His wife recognises him and delivers him up to Kitovras, who orders him to be hanged. Solomon begs as a last favour that the trumpets be blown three times, as he is a king. At this signal his army advances in its battalions, red, white, and black (explained by Solomon as fire, clouds, and devils). They kill Kitovras and his people, and likewise the faithless wife. This tale, either in whole or in part, has passed almost literally into all the popular literatures of these peoples, and out of it stories and tales, and especially epic songs, have been made. I mention only Roland, who blows *three times* his trumpet, &c.

Less important are the legends of the destruction of Jerusalem and the seventy years' sleep of *Abed-*

* Ellis, Early English Metrical Romances, ed. Halliwell, 1848, p. 31 *seq.*

melekh. He afterwards receives Jeremiah when he returns from exile with his people; Jeremiah, seeing a heavenly vision, announces the coming of the Messiah, whereupon he is stoned by the people. The story, which is only to be found in Slavonic, modern Greek, Roumanian, and Æthiopic, seems also to be one of the old apocryphal legends, which have hitherto been regarded as lost.

Finally, we may refer to the legend of the Babylonian kingdom, in which a king orders the image of a dragon to be placed on all objects. As a punishment God causes all these dragons to spring into life and devour the people, while round the city an immense snake coiled itself. There is the grave of *Shadrach, Meshach,* and *Abednego,* and thence the messenger of the Emperor Leo brings a crown sent by these saints.* That Babylon was the home of dragons and basilisks was a wide-spread belief during the Middle Ages, and of this I might adduce many examples. I mention here only Sir John Mandeville.

Out of all these and other smaller elements was compiled the Slavonic Bible-story, which exercised so important an influence on the popular imagination.

* Wesselofsky, Archiv f. Slav. Philologie, ii. 1, 2, and Zamêtki, St. Petersburg, 1883, i. pp. 9–14.

III.

THE APOCRYPHA OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—ANTI-CHRIST.—LIVES OF THE SAINTS.—THE LETTER FROM HEAVEN AND THE FLAGELLANTS.—THE "GOLUBINAYA KNIGA."

III.

Pious curiosity, that is, the wish to fill up the lacunæ presented by the Biblical relations, was also the principal cause that led to the origination of the Apocrypha of the New Testament, especially the writings commonly known as Apocryphal Gospels.

As Mr. Cowper says in his introduction to the English translation, "Men were curious to know more than the Canonical Gospels contained. Fragmentary stories or traditions were abroad relating to Joseph and Mary and their families, to the birth and infancy, the trial and crucifixion of Jesus, to Pilate, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, and so on. How pleasant if all these fragments could be rendered complete, and especially if the silence of the four Gospels could be supplemented! The wish was not a barren one, and from time to time writings appeared professing to supply the information which was wanted. Some of these writings may be considered introductory to the evangelical narratives, others as appendices, but all as supplementary in one way or another. Joseph and Mary were no longer the obscure individuals the Gospels have left them; the incarnation, birth,

and early life of Jesus no more remained imperfectly recorded; the last days of Christ's earthly life were set forth with wondrous minuteness of detail; the space between the death and resurrection of the Saviour was filled up with particulars of what happened in the unseen world, as well as at Jerusalem and elsewhere. Pilate was pursued into every nook and corner; all he did and said was noted down, and the steps of the Nemesis which hunted him beyond the very grave were diligently traced."

No question that these writings were largely used by heretical sects, which sought support from Apostolical or Divine authorities. So we find a Gospel ascribed to Nicodemus, another even to Marcian, the head of the *Gnostics*, &c. These books were used to support various doctrines and opinions concerning Christ, Mary, the resurrection, and so forth.

The Apocrypha of the New Testament make indeed their appearance very early in Slavonic literature, as well as elsewhere, but under somewhat different circumstances to those of the Old Testament. While the latter were more or less inserted into the actual text of the Bible, the other Apocrypha found no place in the actual text of the body of the New Testament, and had, as it were, an independent existence. This fact is connected with the circumstance that the Bogomils, as well

as at an earlier date the Gnostics and Manichæans, were opposed more or less to the Old Testament. Its only value was as an announcement and preparation for the New Testament. Interpolations and expansions were therefore permitted in the former. Their relation to the New Testament was quite different, since it was the foundation of their creed, and as such enjoyed special sanctity. It did not, however, prevent numerous legends of Christ, of the Holy Virgin, and of the Apostles to be circulated and modified in accordance with the desires and views of the heretics. On the contrary, the holy character attributed to this pseudo-epigraphical literature raised its value and made it fitting for the propagation of those views.

As is well known, the Apostle John, the author of the Apocalypse, which answered so well to their system, was the Beloved Apostle of the Bogomils, and many a book and revelation is ascribed to him. The Gospel of St. John was especially worshipped, and we will see farther on another book containing the fundamental belief of the Bogomils ascribed also to St. John. Incidentally I will mention here the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John, both later accused of heresy, as well as the Freemasons, who all took their oath on the Gospel of St. John and had a special feast of St. John. The German *Johannisminne* may also be brought into connection with this, being till now not satisfactorily explained.

The Bogomils attributed, further, a number of apocryphal tales to the Apostle Paul, as well as to the Holy Virgin, or, better, accepted and changed them.

A peculiarity of nearly all these was that they dealt with eschatological questions. While the Old Testament, as enlarged by the means I have described, answered the inquiring or curious minds with regard to the creation of the world, of man, or the origin of evil, the Apocrypha of the New Testament solved the problem of the fate of man after death, and thus completed the drama of redemption. These writings included descriptions of heaven and hell, and gave instructions how to reach the former or how to avoid the eternal fires of the latter.

There is now a great difference between the Apocrypha of the New Testament and those of the Old, especially as regards those with which I am dealing. The Apocrypha of the Old Testament gradually make their way among the people, but in the process often lose their name. Their contents are preserved, episodes out of them are freely modified, and they thus pass, as it were, into the very blood of the people. Being assimilated by the people, they form a basis for further poetic expression, while the Apocrypha of the New Testament, attributed to holy personages, who are actually worshipped and form a part of the religious creed,

are preserved, with slight alterations, in a distinct book form. They are never incorporated into the body of the Holy Scriptures, but have themselves their own *holiness*. The very names given to them endow them with a kind of sanctity.

Of greater popularity, and of greater importance for the literature and civilisation of the world is the "Gospel of Nicodemus," especially through its legend of the cross, already mentioned, and above all by the "Descent of Christ to Hell," which is there described by two eye-witnesses from hell. We have presented to us the approach of the Saviour, the bursting open of the gates of hell, and the liberation of all souls, from Adam downwards. It also contains wonderful details of the trial of Christ before Pilate and of His passion. There is scarcely a European language into which this Gospel has not been translated. The Latin translations are very early, and were inserted by Jacobus a Voragine in his *Historia Lombardica*, or "Golden Legend," a name of which Longfellow made use. It does not come within our scope to follow the work through all the literatures of the world. I will content myself with referring to the Anglo-Saxon translation which was printed at Oxford in 1698, though this had been preceded by an English one in 1507. The well-known "Passion plays" are based on this Gospel, and the influence of its "Descent to Hell" is proved by the many imita-

tions, including those of Dante and St. Patrick. It is true that classical literature had its "Descents to Hades," but at the time when this literature appears the influence of the classical models may well be doubted. Many references in Dante show clearly that he was acquainted with the "Gospel of Nicodemus." In Slavonic literature, besides the text itself, we have many reminiscences of it among the popular literature. The "Descent to Hell" itself gave rise to a remarkable imitation, "The Descent of the Holy Virgin," and it is easy to imagine the influence it would have on the popular fancy, especially as it was from the beginning regarded as the clue to the mysterious life after death, and therefore gave an opportunity of entering into all possible torments, while the original Gospel only spoke of a place of wailing and gnashing of teeth. It is not at all surprising that we meet with this in versified form when the popular songs deal with man's soul after death. In Roumania it plays a great part in the so-called wakes for the dead, *i.e.*, in the songs sung by the side of the corpse.

On the other hand, the story has become quite a popular and largely circulated book, and is called also "Letter of the Mother of God," as a parallel and counterpart to another "Letter of God" Himself, both of which I shall shortly examine.

In close connection with the "Descent to Hell" is another apocryphal writing attributed to St. Paul,

which is likewise of great antiquity. This deals particularly with the condition of the soul at the moment of death, with the severance of the soul from the earth, and with the way it must go to reach heaven or hell. This too was a theme likely to rouse curiosity, and its treatment would be welcome to pious believers.

The first support for the contrast between the deaths of the righteous and the unrighteous is to be found in the Bible, where it is said, "It came to pass that the beggar died, and was carried by angels into Abraham's bosom." This was repeated about innumerable saints, as St. Barbara, St. Paul the Hermit, &c. But the clear contrast between righteous and unrighteous is to be found in a remarkable manner in the writings of Mani, the founder of the sect of Manichæans, who has a special chapter on the point, almost in exactly the same words.* The same picture is frequently repeated in religious and mystical tracts, in burial and other sermons, and in other moral writings intended to influence the imagination of men by this means. We thus find it even at the present day in folk-books, as in the so-called "Mirror of Human Life" in French.†

Especially noteworthy are, further, the *stations* or posts through which the soul has to pass before it reaches heaven. These are guarded by the demons

* *Cf.* Flügel, Mani, pp. 100-101. † Nisard, ii. 29.

of human passions, which demand their rights from the soul. This idea arose first in Egypt, it occurs in the "Book of Enoch," &c., and the early Fathers of the Church concerned themselves greatly with this question. We meet with it also among the Manichæans, and very often among the moral writings intended for popular reading. Several visions of the saints repeat it, St. Macarius and others, that of St. Basil the younger at the greatest length. The idea took root in popular songs, and especially in popular superstitions: songs at wakes wish that the departed may come safely through the "stations" of heaven. Many ceremonies connected with burial may be traced back to these tales of the fate of man after death. Most remarkable of all, this description, combined with that of hell, has given the material for the Russian block-book of the last judgment of the world. A careful comparison between picture and tale brings out clearly the connection of the two. This may be traced farther back, as the Russian was originally South Slavonic or Byzantine, and served as frescoes in church. The picture is rightly to be called "The Last Judgment of the Soul after Death: its Reward and Punishment," for this is all of the last judgment to be found in it.

I have perhaps lingered too long over this Apocalypse, and must pass on to the legend in which the same Macarius plays the principal part, namely, his journey to Paradise. This was a harder task. The

Apostle Paul, it is true, saw Paradise in his Apocalypse, but he speaks little of it. It seems as if only the sorrows of men can make eloquent and can be depicted, but not their happiness; so he tells very little about this, and what little he does say failed to find its way into the mind of the people. Others sought to find Paradise, but they only saw it from afar, and could not come near to it. This was the case with Alexander of Macedon in the *Alexandreis*, and this too happened to St. Macarius, whose apocryphal tale is entirely taken from the work of Pseudo-Callisthenes. Happiness is not granted to man in this life!

Among those questions which have moved men's souls, and still move them, is then the question of the *end of all things*. When and how will the end of the world come? It is true the Apocalypse of St. John had given an answer to this, and depicted in glowing colours the approach of Antichrist, the signs of the world's end, and the last judgment.

It is sufficiently well known how these thoughts interested not alone the Christian, but also the Jewish and Pagan worlds. This description of the burning up of the world is especially emphasised in the religion of Zoroaster. We meet with it too in Mani, as well as in Teutonic mythology, where it plays a principal part. I do not, of course, propose to pursue these ideas farther. I will content myself with remarking that St. Jerome

has a similar description of the signs which are to precede the last judgment. So, too, the Venerable Bede, and after him a crowd of ecclesiastical writers.

The deep impression made upon the mind of the Slavonic peoples by the idea of Antichrist as the type of the godless is proved by a number of sagas, songs, fairy tales, and superstitions. The saga of Gog and Magog is connected with it. This is an episode of the *Alexandreis*, in which it is told how Alexander had shut up fifteen nations under mountains near the Caucasus. These peoples will appear at the time of Antichrist and do all manner of cruel deeds. Exactly similar to this is a legend of South Russia. The legend of Antichrist and of the last judgment often appear in the Russian picture or block books (*Lubočnija Kartinki*), which constitute so large a part of Russian folk-lore. Owing to the popularity of the subject, which roused the terror of the people, many descriptions were naturally put into circulation; among them two celebrated ones, attributed respectively to Hyppolitus and Methodius of Patara. Both are well known in early Slavonic literature, and are often repeated in later adaptations.

Besides this Apocrypha, which had so great an influence, many other Apocryphal tales were early translated into Slavonic, especially the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, of Peter, Andrew, and

Rufinus, and those were especially preferred which were most rich in miracles, and were thus best assured of a favourable reception among the people.

Lives of the saints were also translated, especially those which were full of wonders, like that of St. Theodore Tiron, who slew a dragon in a forest and afterwards became a martyr, or like that of St. George, who made the Devil speak in a statue of Apollo and drove him out of it. Especial favourites were the hermits, like the settlers of the Thebais in Egypt, St. Anthony, St. Simon Stylites, St. Macarius, whom we have frequently mentioned, then St. Nicholas of Myra, and others whose names are legion.

In equal favour were the romantic lives which more or less resembled fairy tales without their fantastic elaboration. For example, the life of St. Alexius, the man of God, St. Eustachius, and so many others, who passed through so many marvellous adventures before they obtained the crown of happiness or martyrdom.

I have named these lives because we can prove their influence on the popular literature. The heroic deeds of the one in knightly encounters with monsters and demons, or the struggles of another with the passions, have raised a loud response in the harp-strings of popular poetry, and their deeds resound in many a folk-song, in which now one now the other is particularly emphasised.

Closer inquiry into the process of this transition from tales into ballads and from ballads into lyrics will lead to many an unexpected result. Thus we can show that the name of the person disappears gradually, and a personal song, if we may so term it, is changed into a general *impersonal* one. Thus, to give an example, there is in the Life of St. Josaphat, which I shall have to deal with later on, a song describing how he flees into the desert to his teacher, and gives up riches, happiness, and splendour. Now we can actually show how this song in this form changed gradually in Bulgaria, Roumania, and Russia into a *song of the stranger*, *i.e.*, of a man who bemoans all that he has left behind in his home. Many more examples might be given of this kind in popular literature showing this transition: the subject remains, but the personal accessories disappear. I must, however, return to the Apocryphal literature.

Before I treat of the complete books, I must consider a few fragmentary works which deal directly with the life of Christ. There is first the *Evangelium Infantiæ*, which is not all extant. It occurs in the dialogues of the three saints, Basil, John, and Chrysostom, and is nothing but a kind of *Lucidarius*. From this book many legends have been preserved, and have been transplanted into Christmas carols. Among these there is the

saga, well known elsewhere, of the sacred tree under which the Holy Family rested in the flight to Egypt. The tree bends low, that the Mother of God may the more easily pluck its fruit, and when the sun rises high up in heaven, it spreads its branches out so as to shade the Holy Family. Parallel passages are easily to be found in Christmas carols, in songs, and even in iconographical descriptions of the flight to Egypt.

Passing over other fragmentary Gospels, there is, further, the above-mentioned Gospel of Nicodemus, preserved, as it seems, only in an abridged and incomplete form in the Slavonic literature, but which gave rise to the "Descent of the Holy Virgin." This is, besides, one of the oldest texts of Slavonic literature. The contents of it, taken from a copy of the twelfth century, run as follows:*—

"Once upon a time the Holy Virgin prayed to God on the Mount of Olives, and begged Him to send the Archangel Michael to show her the punishments of men. Then came the Archangel with a number of angels. And she asked him, 'How many punishments are there, and are men really punished?' And he answered, 'There are innumerable punishments;' and he ordered the Angel of the South to open hell. And she saw a multitude of men and women in great anguish.

* Tihonravov, ii. p. 23 *seq.*

The angel explained to her that these were men who had worshipped created things, as gods, sun, moon, and stars, and the Slavonic gods *Trojan*, *Hors*, *Veles*, and *Perun*, and they still hankered after evil; therefore were they punished.

"Farther on she saw a thick darkness which covered the people. At her request this cloud disappeared for a moment. The punished ones could not see her, because they had seen no light for an endless time. The angel said that these were they who had not believed in the Trinity nor in the Holy Virgin. She wept bitterly over them, and went on towards the south, where there is a burning stream. In this men were lying, some completely immersed, others only partially. These were the dishonest and the cannibals, *i.e.*, those who ruined others. At one place she saw men hanged upside down, and being gnawed by worms. These were the lovers of gold and silver. Again, she saw women hanging by their teeth, and dragons coming out of their mouths. These were they that listen at doors and then tell lies. Thence the Holy Virgin went to the North. There she found a burning cloud in which were fiery beds, on which lay men and women. They had not got up on Sunday to go to church. In another place men sat on burning stools. These had not stood up before the priests in church. Again the Holy Virgin looked and saw a mighty iron tree. On its boughs hung hooks with men

hanging by their tongues. These were those who had caused enmity between man and man. Farther on she sees a man being eaten by a bird with wings and three heads. With one of these it covered his eyes, with the other his mouth, so that he could not pray to God for mercy. This was a man who knew the Scriptures but did not follow them. Then she sees the punishment of unworthy priests, who were careless in their duties or immoral in their lives. At last she comes to a mighty stream of fire, which boils like the water in a kettle and tosses like the waves of the sea. Here were Jews, heathens, and renegade Christians, who had fallen from the true faith, and had served the Devil.

"Then the Holy Virgin arose and went to the throne of God and begged for mercy for the souls in torment. She called to her aid Moses the law-giver, Paul the apostle and spreader of the Epistles, and John the Evangelist, but all in vain. At last she begs Michael the Archangel and the choir of angels to pray with her for mercy from God. Christ therefore descends, and when the tortured souls see Him they pray to Him for mercy. Christ thereupon assures them, at the request of His Mother, that their punishment shall be remitted from Green Thursday to Pentecost."

So far goes this fanciful description in an abridged form. Similar descriptions, and much older even than the Gospel of Nicodemus, we meet in the old

apocalyptical literature of the East. I mention especially that of the prophet Isaiah, and the old Persian in the *Arda-Viraf-Nâmeh.* Here also a priest travels through hell and Paradise, and describes at full length the punishments and the woe of hell. It is a question of special inquiry as to how far our Apocalypse was subject to the influence of the latter, with which it shows an undoubted similarity.

Besides this, there is also, as I mentioned above, another eschatological story dealing with the previous condition of the soul from the moment of its departure from the body till it reaches heaven or hell. This Apocryphon is ascribed to the Apostle Paul, who saw it in an apocalyptical vision.

In the Slavonic literature it has been preserved in two forms, an abridged and shorter one, and an enlarged one, corresponding more closely to the Greek text, and treating not only of the departure of the soul, but also of the happiness of Paradise and the torments of hell. This latter part, however, has been rendered superfluous by the account attributed to the Holy Virgin, and thus the first part formed a separate existence, in which the departure of the soul from the body is described as follows: *—

"On every day there appear before the throne of God the angels of good men who live piously,

* St. Novaković, Primeri Književnostii jezika staroga i srpsko-slovenskoga, Belgrad, 1877, p. 437 *seq.*; Tihonravov, ii. 40 *seq.*

and they bring their good deeds before God, full of joy and wonderment at the patient piety of man. Opposite to these appear the angels of bad men, crying bitterly, and they ask God why they should serve such men. But God answers that they should serve them as long as they lived, for perhaps they might make them better. And the Apostle Paul begged of the angel that he might see the place of the good and the bad souls. He was first taken to hell, where he saw the wicked spirits who torture bad men; they ruled the world and received the souls of the wicked. Then he saw bright angels, who were the angels of the good, and were always ready to receive their souls at the moment of death.

"The Apostle then looked down upon the earth, and saw it surrounded by a fiery cloud. This consisted of the sins of the world mixed with prayers. He then desired to witness the death of a just man and of an unjust man. The angel bids him look down. He saw a just man and troops of bright angels approaching him, and all the good deeds he had performed on earth. These all receive his soul, and say to it three times, 'Soul, soul, look upon the body in which thou hast lived, for on the day of judgment thou shalt rejoin it.' This goes on for three days, then comes the man's angel and kisses the soul, and encourages it, for it has done the will of God. It is then led up to heaven. On the way the soul has to pass many stations

of bad angels, who refer to its sins and attempt to drag it down. But the angel supports it, and the soul reaches heaven unharmed, where it is greeted and welcomed by innumerable hosts, till finally God places it in the fields of Paradise.

"Not so the soul of the sinner. This is taken in charge by the evil spirits. The guardian angel weeps and accompanies it to heaven, where God recalls its sins and condemns it to hell."

I have merely given a short sketch of the contents of this apocalypse. This part is spun out at length in a similar vision which St. Macarius is said to have had in the wilderness. This is the same Macarius who had a vision of three dead men in the desert, which became the foundation of the *danses macabres*, which was so called, I suppose, after the name of the same *Macarius*, altered to Macaire, Macabre.

The next question after the end of man was that of the end of the world. The Apocalypse of St. John gave an answer to it, but this was too general for the pious and ascetic reader of the olden times, and thus another Apocalypse was attributed to the *same St. John*, in which he is represented as asking questions and Christ as giving answers about the end of all things. This book, called "Questions and Answers of St. John on Mount Tabor," is of the more importance as it became a standard book of the Bogomils. It was translated in an early period by the Kathars of

Concorenzo from Slavonic into Latin, and is preserved in a much expanded form in the Acts of the Inquisition at Carcassone, under the name of *Secretum Hæreticorum de Concorenzio.* There it is expressly mentioned, "*portatum de Bulgaria a Nazario suo episcopo, plenum erroribus.*" * The Greek original has been published by Tischendorf, and we possess Slavonic texts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Latin text embraces beginning and end, and gives first a picture of the Fall, and describes how Satan first came down to the earth. He found it resting on two fishes, and these on water, clouds, and fire; and then it is told how Satan created this world. It then speaks of baptism, and finally ends with the question of the second coming of Christ and the overthrow of the power of Satan. This latter part forms the chief contents of the extant Slavonic text. Here we have also the additional trait that a mighty book is shown to John: "Its thickness was that of seven mountains, and its breadth so great that no human mind could grasp it; and this book had seven seals. In it was written all that is in heaven and on earth." This commencement and the Latin version reminds us of the *Golubinaya Kniga*, which is closely connected with it, and its origin must be somehow brought into relation with this Apocalypse. After this comes the story of

* Thilo, Codex Apocryphus, i. p. 884 *seq.*

the second coming, all in the form of question and answer, and then the signs of the last judgment. First, Antichrist will appear; he is thus described:— "His face is dark, the hairs of his head like sharp arrows, his gaze marvellous, his right eye like the rising star of morn, his left eye like that of a lion, his mouth an ell wide, each of his teeth a span broad, his nails like sickles, his footsteps each two spans broad, and on his brow is written 'Anti-Christ.' He will rise up to heaven and descend to hell, and do all manner of evil deeds to the righteous. Then God will turn the heaven into iron, so that it will not rain, and the clouds will disappear and the winds cease. Then will come the Prophets Enoch and Elijah, and fight with Antichrist, but will be defeated by him. Then the angels will raise all the righteous, and all holy vessels and books, into the sky, and everything will be destroyed in the conflagration of the world. The winds will then clear it away, so that the earth will be white as snow or clean parchment, prepared for the last judgment." Then follows a powerful, though fantastic, description of the advent of Christ, when the seven seals are opened, and the dead as well as Antichrist and his followers are judged.

One of the most popular legends, of quite a different character, which plays a great part in the mediæval movement, is the "Legend of Sunday,"

more often called also "The Letter from Heaven." Known in the East as early as the eighth century, it soon became the common property of all Europe. Roger of Hovedene gives this "Letter from Heaven" in his Chronicle under the year 1201, and says that it had been brought in this year to England by Abbot Eustachius of Flays. The letter was directly copied thence by Roger of Wendover into his own Chronicle. An Anglo-Saxon translation is said to be in existence at Corpus Christi College in Oxford. The fact that makes this letter so important is that it became the leading document of the Flagellants. These first appeared in Lombardy in the thirteenth century, and spread as far as Poland and Moravia; they then disappear for a time, only to reappear with renewed vigour in the fifteenth century. Contemporary writers mention this "Letter from Heaven" as the writing which they were accustomed to read immediately after their flagellation. In Slavonic literature, MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are extant, which are derived from the Greek, and thus render it probable that the Latin texts also came from the same source. Its contents, in the best known form, run as follows:

"Once upon a time in Jerusalem [other texts say in Rome] there fell upon the Mount of Olives a stone from heaven, which no man could raise. The Patriarch and the whole Synod gathered round it,

and prayed to God for three days and three nights, till the stone opened of itself and therein lay a big roll with the following words, written by God:— 'I am your God, and ye are my people. I have already written twice unto you, now I write for the third and last time. Ye must fear me. I have already sent you many signs of my wrath, but ye have not hearkened. Ye shall keep holy my Sunday, Friday, and Wednesday. Do ye not know that on a Friday I created Adam? that on a Sunday the Archangel Gabriel brought the joyful Annunciation; that on a Sunday I was baptized in the Jordan; that I rose again on a Sunday, and will judge the world in that day? On Wednesday the Jews spoke together how they might slay me; therefore shall ye on that day fast, love one another, and do good. The Pagans, though they have not our faith, still do good after their belief. But ye do it not. Therefore would I have long ago destroyed you, but that the Holy Virgin and the Apostles have prayed for you that I should put off your punishment. Fast ye, therefore, and keep Sunday, Friday, and Wednesday, and I will send you my blessing. But if you do not do this, a terrible punishment will befall you. It will rain fire and hot water, wild beasts will destroy mankind, and among these will be animals having the head of a lion, the wings of an eagle, hair instead of feathers, and horses' tails.'"

It goes on to say that a voice from heaven announced that this message came from the invisible Father Himself, and woe unto him who did not believe it, for upon him would come eternal punishment. Cursed be that priest or deacon who would not read this message in church, or who did not copy it out and send it to far lands. On the other hand, he was to be relieved of all his sins who read it and copied it.

This is the main drift of this letter, which was copied a thousand times, and gradually was used as an amulet. In later versions of it, help in extremity, freedom from fear, and protection against the attacks of the wicked spirits is promised as a reward for carrying it. Under the title of "Letter from Heaven" or "The Lord's Letter," this Sunday legend had become a favourite book for the people in Roumania and Russia, and even serves as an amulet.

This deep reverence for the days sanctified by events in the life of the Saviour led in the East of Europe to a kind of personification of those days. Instead of the good fairies of Western tradition, we have in the fairy tales of those lands St. Sunday, St. Wednesday, and St. Friday, and we meet with them in popular songs, especially in songs for Christmas and New Year. Superstitions were connected with the proper observance of these days. The slightest work would involve an immediate

punishment. These consequences, threatened by Scripture in the form of outbursts of Nature, were taken quite literally, and to each particular deed is appropriated its own punishment, *e.g.*, a storm for needlework, and so on. We all know the legend of the Man in the Moon, a German form of which recognises in him a man who had collected a bundle of wood on a Sunday.*

Once started on the way of attributing special sanctity to certain days beyond those of the canon, the plan was soon extended to certain Fridays on which certain important events are said to have happened. This forms the "Legends of the Twelve Fridays," which is still now-a-days a popular book. The basis of this is formed by a disputation between Eleftherie the Christian and Tarasie the Jew, on the result of which depends whether the former should become a Jew or the latter a Christian. The question put by the Jew is, Which are the twelve great Fridays? Mathia, the son of the Jew, betrays them to the Christian, and tells how they had been written down by the Apostles and hidden by the Jews. I may give here from a MS. of the fifteenth century the first three:—

"The first Friday is on the 6th March; on this day Adam transgressed the command of God and was driven out of Paradise. The second Friday is before the Annunciation; on this Cain killed Abel and brought death into the world. The

* Gaster, Lit. Pop., p. 371 *seq.*

third Friday is that of Christ's crucifixion; on this He sacrificed Himself for the redemption of sinners." And so it goes on. The later the text, the more details are given to each day, in order to make them more important and to encourage observance of them and fasting upon them.

The most important example of all this literary influence is the *Golubinaya Kniga, i.e., Glubinaya: the Mysterious book*, with a translation of which I conclude this sketch of the apocryphal literature. It is one of the most widespread and most celebrated of Russian folk-songs, and forms the centre of all recent inquiry into Russian folk-lore. Its contents will sufficiently explain the interest which attaches to it. I have selected the variant which seems to be most complete.*

"In a land far in the East—arose a dark grey cloud.

"From the dark grey cloud—fell the Golubinaya Kniga—upon the light-giving, life-giving Cross.

"Round this Kniga—collected forty Tzars and Tzarevitch—forty kings and princes—with many dukes and boyards.

"Among them were five Tzars, the greatest Tzars—Isaj Tzar, Vasilej Tzar—Tzar Volontoman Volontomanitch—and the wise Tzar David Essevitch [son of Jesse].

"Then out spake Tzar Volontoman—'Who among us, my brothers, is skilled in reading? that he may read this Kniga Golubinaya—and tell us of the white world—out of what the white world is made—and of what the beauteous sun—and of what the moon with her soft light—and of what the crowded stars—and of what the glorious gloaming—the twilight of the eve, the twilight of the dawn?'

* Bezsonof, Kalêki Perchožie, i., Moscow, 1861, No. 81, p. 293 *seq.*

"Then stood the Tzars all silent.

"But the answer gave the wise Tzar—David Essevitch—'I, my brothers, will speak unto you—about the Golubinaya Kniga—John the Priest (Bogoslov) wrote it—the Prophet Isaiah read it—for three years he read it—and yet 'twas but three leaves.

"'I will tell you by heart what was in this writing:—the world arose—from Christ the Tzar of heaven,—The beauteous sun arose from God's bright face,—from His bosom the moon with her soft light,—from his robe the crowded stars,—the red sky of eve and dawn from the eyes of God.'

"Thereon bowed all the Tzars (and said)—'O thou wise Tzar—David Essevitch—tell us too—let us know—from what we Tzars arose—from what the princes and boyards—whence the true believers—whence the men?'

"Answered then the wise Tzar—'We Tzars have our origin in the head of Adam—the boyards and princes from his rib—the peasants from his knees—from him too arose the race of women;—our body is out of the moist of the earth—our bones out of stones—our blood out of the Black Sea—our thought of the clouds.'

"Bowed the Tzars and gave their thanks—and said—'But tell us—who is the greatest Tzar,—which town the mother of all towns,—which church is the mother church?'

"He answered—'Our wise Tzar is the greatest—because he believed in the holy Christ—his hand is stretched over all—over the whole inhabited world—therefore is he mightiest.—Jerusalem is the mother of all cities—because she stands in the centre of the world—in the midst of the famous city stands the cathedral—the holy of holies of the Mother of God—and of the resurrection—in this church is the tomb of Christ—ever is incense and *ladan* burning there—hence is this the mother of the churches.'

"The Tzars thanked him—and asked—'Which are the most important—which lake,—which fish,—which bird,—and what beast is the mightiest of all?'

"The wise Tzar answered—'The sea of ocean is the mightiest

—it surrounds the whole earth—out of the sea of ocean arose the cathedral—of the holy St. Clement.—Lake Ilmen is the mightiest of all—not the one in Novgorod—but that one—in the Turkish realm—this Ilmen is near Jerusalem—and from it rises Little Mother Jordan.—The mightiest of fishes is the whale—for the earth rests on three whales.—The bird strefil (ostrich) is the mightiest of birds—it lives in the midst of the sea—and eats and drinks after prayers—two hours after midnight—the strefil shakes himself—at once dawn breaks—and all the cocks they crow.—The mightiest of beasts is the unicorn—he lives on Mount Tabor—walks under the earth—and cleans the brooks and wells—wherever this beast goeth—the wells boil over—when he comes back—all beasts bow down before him.'

"The Tzars thanked him—and asked him—'Which mount is the most important—which stone,—which tree,—and which herb?'

"The wise Tzar answered—'The Mount Tabor is the most important—because in it Christ was announced—before His apostolic disciples—to whom He showed great glory.—The most important stone is the white *Latyr*-stone (altar-stone)—Christ stood on it as He talked with the disciples—established the Christian faith, and spread the Bible over the earth.—The cypress is the greatest tree—for out of it was moulded the wondrous cross—on which Christ was crucified.—Willow-herb is the greatest—as the Mother of God—was going to her son—her tears fell on the moist earth—whence sprang the willow-herb.'

"The Tzars then bowed—and said—'Yester morn came two hares—from far afield—one was grey, the other white—they tore one another—till the grey one conquered the white.—The white one went into the bright field—the grey one into the darksome wood;—what sins will never be forgiven?'

"The wise Tzar answered—'The two hares are Justice and Injustice—they struggle with one another—Injustice conquers Justice—Justice goes to heaven above—to Christ Lord—Injustice came to this world—to the people—and hid herself in

the heart—hence unjust deeds—He that insults the Holy Ghost —for his sin there is no repentance—neither in this nor in the future world.'"

In this folk-song the whole Apocryphal literature of the Old and New Testament is portrayed. The variants omitted here show other well-known traits. In all of them, however, we recognise without hesitation the dualistic and Bogomilistic origin, which is clearly expressed in the justice in heaven and the injustice on earth. We recognise in it parallels with German mythology, traces of the Physiologus in the cosmogony, and what is more, the saga of the San-Gréal in the puzzling latyr-stone, which I have translated *altar-stone.*

IV.

EXORCISMS AND SPELLS.

IV.

I HAVE already touched upon the translation of the Apocrypha of the New Testament into *amulets, i.e.*, into means for producing wonders or good health, quite apart from their legendary contents.

Here we come across an important division of general folk-lore, viz., exorcisms and spells directed against disease, regarded as an evil spirit. According to old notions, the enemy of man could be the sole author of all sorrows. In an Old Slavonic legend it is said that when God created Adam and left his body on the ground before putting the soul into it, Satanael came and put upon Adam seventy diseases. When God bade him take them away again, Satanael caused them to enter the body, and told God that unless man suffered he would never think of God. In this way man remained troubled with pains.*

In the New Testament many examples are given of men possessed who were freed by Christ, and of invalids who were healed by the Apostles. We have, too, the invulnerability of the Apostles, as in the story of St. Paul and the viper. The more the

* Pypin, *l. c.*, pp. 12–13.

view grew of this evil power of Satan, as it naturally would from a dualistic standpoint, such as that of the Manichæans and other heretics, the more must the healing powers of the saints increase. They had to free man from the power of the arch-enemy.

The belief in Satan and the legends relative to the worship of the Devil under the form of a cat, with all the orgies attributed to the heretical sects, has been further the origin of all the tales connected with witches and with sorcery. It lies outside of the limits of the present inquiry to follow out this connection, and to prove that the accusations against the latter have not been anything else than a transfer from the extirpated Cathars or Bogomils or Manichæans to the innocent victims of fanaticism and ignorance. The witches too worship Satan, acknowledge his power, sell their souls for earthly benefit and might, and become thus dreaded foes of their fellow-citizens.

The very name of *Vaulderie*, denoting witch-craft, is derived from the *Vauldois* or Waldenses, just as *Boggard*, a Northern provincial appellation of a foul fiend, evidently resolves itself into *Bulgard* or Bulgarian, the very common designation of the *Albigenses*, whose dealing with Satan was notoriously a general belief.* They are, like their master, the cause of every disease, and the

* *Cf.* G. S. Faber, Valdenses, London, 1838, p. 339, No. 1.

exorcism is employed as well against them and their witchcraft as against the direct work of the evil spirit. The parallelism between the witches and the heretics is perfect, the one being the successor of the other.

The belief in witchcraft can scarcely be traced in Europe earlier than the fourteenth century, and ranges in time also exactly with the appearance and spread of the dualistic creed.

As soon as the belief was established that disease is the work of an evil spirit, its remedy took a symbolic form. Certain ceremonies were adopted, and a saint was called upon who in his lifetime had fought against the *same* spirit, and had defeated him. First among these, of course, we must take into account Christ Himself, to whom the patient has resort, trusting that the illness once healed by Him will be again cured. Then very frequently the Holy Virgin was invoked, generally as an interceder for the sufferer, and so the invocations go on to apostles and saints. Any one who has looked through the German *Romanus-büchlein*, the French *Enchantements* (Nisard), or the English superstitious rhymes of Chalmers and Halliwell, or the earlier collections in Delrio (*Disquisitio Magicarum*), will meet at every turn with such invocations and spells. They are equally numerous, if not more so, in modern Greek, Slavonic and Roumanian folk-lore. Especially well known and cele-

brated is a formula of incantation against the twelve fever-fits (*Tresêvica*). This is attributed to Popa Jeremiah himself, the founder of Bogomilism. They are quoted as such in the old *Indices Expurgatorii*. There is no doubt, therefore, that the spell is derived from the East, and I have elsewhere proved its existence in that quarter as early as the eighth century. It may have been of Manichæan origin, and probably was translated and adapted by Popa Jeremiah himself. The spell has been preserved up to the present day in all the lands of East Europe, and, with certain modifications, also among Jews and Germans. The legend runs as follows :—

"St. Sisinie was a brave warrior. Once upon a time the Archangel Gabriel appeared to him in a dream, and told him to go to his sister Melintia. She had had five children who had all been stolen by the Devil, and was about to give birth to a sixth. Sisinie was to pursue the demon and obtain the children back from him.

"His sister had made for herself a marble pillar, and had shut herself in it. When Sisinie made himself known to her, she opened the door. But the demon had changed himself into a millet-seed, and came in with him under the hoof of his horse. He steals the child and flies away. St. Sisinie pursues him, and as he passes a willow tree, asks it if it has seen the demon with the child.

This deceives him, and says No, and is thereupon cursed by St. Sisinie with the curse that it shall only blossom but bear no fruit. Then he asks a briar, which likewise deceives him. This shall have its head in the earth, and all men shall become entangled in it, so that they will curse at it. At last he asks the olive tree, which tells the truth and receives a blessing for it.

"The saint accordingly casts his line into the sea, and pulls out the demon, and beats him with seventy-two fiery clubs till he shall restore the six children. He says he will give the children back when the saint shall be able to give back all the milk which he has taken from his mother's breasts. St. Sisinie does this by aid of a miracle, and the demon has to return all the six children he had stolen, and the demon promises to keep away from every house where the prayer (or formula) of St. Sisinie was to be found."*

The prayer or formula referred to here in the text has freed itself and acquired an independent existence, or, as I would prefer to assume, it existed even before the legend. This, though attributed to Sisynios, the immediate follower of Mani, as chief of the Manichæans, seems to have been derived from an earlier Oriental tale, which became the basis of all later formulæ. I give it here in the Roumanian form, which closely resembles the old

* Gaster, *l. c.*, p. 393 *seq.*

one. It may be observed that here, as in all the other variants, the demon is a feminine one. The following is the legend:—

"I, Sisoe, as I came down from the Mount of Olives, saw the Archangel Gabriel as he met the *Avestitza* wing of Satan, and seized her by the hair and asked her where she was going. And she answered that she was going to cheat the Holy Virgin by her tricks, steal the new-born child and drink its blood. The Archangel asked her how she could get into houses so as to steal the children; and she answered that she changed herself into a fly or a cat, &c. But whosoever knew her twelve (19) and a half names and wrote them out, she could not touch. She told him these names and they were written down."

There is a Coptic parallel to this, more or less identical, as well as a Greek and Slavonic one. The fairy who steals children is called *Lilith*, and is further identified with Herodias and her twelve daughters, as personifications of different kinds of fever.

The vicissitudes of this belief in the Middle Ages are too well known for me to do more than refer to them. Everywhere *vilas, elves, fairies*, and similar female beings lie in wait for children. The part they play in the whirlwind of the German myths connects this belief, which might appear to be very old in Europe, with this female demon of the Oriental tales.

The characteristic point is that this female spirit is everywhere regarded as the cause of *catalepsy* or fits. Hence the invocation to St. Sisinie as driving these away. Then this invocation is used as an amulet and spell. I add the translation of one of these from the Roumanian, in which the Holy Virgin is taken as the healer. In the Russian parallel the names of the twelve daughters are taken as personifications of the disease. The Roumanian formula is against *cramp* in the night.

"There is a mighty hill—and on this hill—is a golden apple-tree.

"Under the golden apple-tree—is a golden stool.

"On the stool who sits there?

"There sits the Mother of God—with St. Maria. With the bow in her right hand—with the cup in her left.

"She looks up and sees naught—she looks down—and sees Mr. and Mrs. Disease.

"Messieurs Cramp and Mesdames Cramp—Mr. Vampyre and Mrs. Vampyre—Messieurs Wehrwolf and Mesdames Wehrwolf. They are going to N. N.—to drink his blood—and to put in him a foul heart.

"The Mother of God—when she saw them—went down to them—spoke to them and asked them—'Where go ye—Mr. and Mrs. Disease?' &c.

"'We go to N. N. his blood to drink—his heart to change to a foul one.'

"'No! ye shall go back—give him his blood back—restore his own heart and leave N. N. immediately.' . . .

"Cramps of the night—cramps of the midnight—cramps of the day—cramps wherever they are. From water—from the wind—go out from the brain—from the light of the face—from

the hearing of the ears—from his heart—from his hands and feet—from the soles of his feet.

"Go and hide—where black cocks never crow—where men never go—where no beast roars.

"Hide yourself there—stop there—and never show yourself more.

"May N. N. remain—pure and glad—as he was made by God—and was fated by the Mother of God.

"The spell is mine—the cure is God's."

I will now give a few more of the Old Slavonian spells which are connected with holy persons. These are especially directed against diseases from which the saints suffered, and from which they were freed by their inborn divine power.

Thus we have the following formula, dating from 1423, against snake-bite, under the title "Prayer of St. Paul against Snakes," just as we had before a similar prayer of St. Sisinie: *—

"In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, I was once a persecutor, but am now a true follower; and I went from my dwelling-place to Sicily, and they set light to a trunk, and a snake came therefrom and bit my right hand and hung from it. But I had in me the power of God, and I shook it off into the burning fire and it was destroyed, and I suffered no ill from the bite. I laid myself down to sleep, then the mighty angel Michael appeared to me and said, 'Saul, Paul, stand up and receive this writing,' and I found in

* Tihonravov, *l. c.*, ii. p. 291.

it the following words:—I exorcise you sixty and a half kinds of beasts that creep on the earth in the name of God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and in the name of the immovable throne. Serpent of evil, I exorcise thee in the name of the burning river which rises under the footstool of the Saviour, and in the name of his incorporeal angels. Thou snake of the tribe of basilisks, thou four-headed snake, twelve-headed snake, variegated snake, dragon-like snake, that art on the right side of hell, whomsoever thou bitest thou shalt have no power to harm, and thou must go away (with all the twenty-four kinds). If a man has this prayer and this curse of the true holy Apostle, and a snake bites him, then it will die on the spot, and the man that is bitten shall remain unharmed, to the honour of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for all time. Amen."

Here we have then another kind of prayer like the one above of St. Sisynios but attributed to St. Paul, and already in form of an amulet in 1423. Another example may be given of a "prayer against toothache, to be carried about with one:" *—

"St. Peter once sat on a stone and wept. Christ came to him and said, 'Peter, why weepest thou?' Peter answered, 'Lord, my teeth pain me.' The Lord thereupon ordered the worm in Peter's tooth to come out of it and never more to go in again.

* Novaković, Primeri, p. 516.

Scarcely had the worm come out when the pain ceased. Then spoke Peter, 'I pray you, O Lord, that when these words be written out, and a man carries them, he shall have no toothache.' And the Lord answered, ''Tis well, Peter; so may it be.'"

In the North of England we find the same charm against toothache, in the *same* wording:—

"Peter was sitting on a marble stone
And Jesus passed by.
Peter said, 'My Lord, my God,
How my tooth doth ache!'
Jesus said, 'Peter, art whole!
And whosoever keeps these words for my sake
Shall never have the toothache!'" *

Here is a third specimen, a charm against nose-bleeding:—"Zachariah was slain in the Lord's Temple, and his blood turned into stone. Then stop, O blood, for the Lord's servant N. N. I exorcise thee, blood, that thou stoppest in the name of the Saviour, and by the fear of the priests when they perform the offices (Liturgy) at the altar." †

I might easily add other examples to these, having their origin in the same spiritual movement. There is always some mention of a holy person who is invoked. The story itself, telling how the saint was freed from his illness, becomes an amulet, and then passes into the *spoken* literature of the people. At this stage its contents are versified

* Halliwell, Nursery Rhymes, p. 291.
† Novakovic, *l. c.*, p. 516.

with rhyme and refrain, as a means best adapted of fixing them in the memory. This kind of process is well known throughout the world's literature, and the most ancient literary products were preserved in this way till they were written down in book form. This happened with the Vedas and with Homer, and exactly the same always happens when anything appeals to the mind of the illiterate people and they wish to preserve it, either from superstitious or æsthetic reasons.

The whole theme is worthy of more extended treatment, for it shows us in documentary form the deep influence that Christianity in its manifold forms exercised on the thought and feeling of the people. Perhaps much that is considered to date from hoary antiquity, and has become the object of a reconstructive mythology, proves, when properly investigated from a historical standpoint, to be very much younger. The influence of Christianity on the people has been sadly undervalued, because only the higher ethical characteristics were regarded, and the miraculous and legendary elements, which have the greatest attraction for the people, were almost entirely left out of account.

V.

ROMANTIC LITERATURE.—FOURTH CRUSADE. ALEXANDER.—TROJAN WAR.—DIGENIS.

V.

THE Slavonic nations owe to Greek literature not only their theological literature, but also their romances and fables. Byzantium, at the gateway of the East, was not alone an intermediary for the religious views and theological literature of the Orient, but also of its profane and poetical literature. Here, if anywhere, the traces of classical antiquity remained. To this point flowed the literature that had taken its rise on Alexandrian soil, and it was sought to keep alive as much as possible the memory of the glorious past.

One can observe in Byzantium more than elsewhere preservation and care for ancient monuments, especially when these flattered the national vanity, or did not hold out against a religious or allegorical application. We accordingly find in Byzantine literature many legends taken from ancient epic cycles. The names of Alexander the Great and Achilles, the siege of Troy and other episodes of the ancient history, are recorded with pride and vanity.

Not so the legends which have their roots in the mythology of the *Hellenes* or the ancient Greeks.

These legends, as much as the romances of Tatius, Longus, Chariton, and others, with whom the history of modern romance is closely connected, these all are carefully excluded. In Byzantium the theological spirit ruled with overwhelming power. Many pages of Byzantine history are filled with the records of spiritual and dogmatical struggles, of councils of war, and extinction of heresies. This was not a soil favourable for the development of joyous life and of epic poetry. The spirit of chivalry could never rise among the knights in the frock of a monk, and amongst the warriors against the tricks of Satan.

The Greek Orient preserved, therefore, the memory of bygone days, and only the romantic tales of prominent figures of the Greek antiquity were changed, elaborated, and widely spread, if not altogether turned into a religious legend. This state of things, however, underwent a change, as it seems, at the close of the tenth century, when we meet a peculiar offspring of the Greek epic muse in the poetical account of the heroic deeds of *Digenis Akritas*, which we shall come across later on.

No doubt the Oriental poetry, especially that of the Persians, must have been more or less known at that time in Byzantium, and the intercourse between the far East and the Greek empire became a frequent one.

The fables and apologues of India appear, are

translated and circulated, and in their footsteps came surely also a very richly developed *oral* folk-lore.

At a fixed time, and from these Oriental sources, which we can follow step by step in their wandering from nation to nation, a new form of literature arose in the Middle Ages, the *literature of novels.* These were Oriental, for the most part Indian tales, which were collected together in one framework, and were originally intended for didactic purposes. They were intended to be the mirrors in which the Eastern princes and autocrats should see themselves, and learn lessons of justice and mildness in the form of tales and talks. These tales were gradually released from their framework, and began life on their own account. They formed most of the materials for Provençal and Southern French poets of fabliaux, and having been early brought to Italy, the novel received its most artistic form at the masterly hand of Boccaccio. Their somewhat free and sportive though attractive contents answered to the freer views of modern life, and the Italian novels, together with their basis, the Oriental tales, spread throughout Europe with astonishing rapidity, giving rise everywhere to new poetic creations. English literature itself begins with Chaucer, who drew from these sources, and Shakespeare's genius has derived thence the elements of some of his immortal pro-

ductions. The great reservoir into which this literature was poured, and from which it was again drawn, is the collection of tales made in the thirteenth century, and well known under the name of *Gesta Romanorum*. Into this everything flowed; pious legends, Indian parables, classical myths, and Roman history were received side by side, and allegorised in a clerical spirit.

The influence of this novel-literature on the peoples themselves was no slight one, nor less in importance. They received the new materials with avidity, assimilated them to the old, and created new forms out of the two. This was the origin of the literature known in England by the name of *Chapbooks*, as well as of a large number of fairy tales. I must, however, refrain from entering upon this wider field, attractive though it be, and must limit myself to the narrower one before us.

Greece has here too played the part of an intermediary between East and West. Everything that came from India to Europe was early translated into Greek, and with only one exception was communicated through the Greek.

By the side of these writings, which in their way from the East first found a welcome in Greece and the Balkan peninsula, we have to take into account a stream of oral tradition which also reached these shores. Nothing is now more probable than the supposition that oral folk-lore and

fairy tales came by the same route, and found from thence their way to the West. As I mentioned above, Benfey has explained the communication of the fairy tales through the Mongolians, who ruled for a long time in Russia. He suggests that from them Indian, and especially Buddhist, tales and stories reached the other peoples of Europe. But we know very little of any such connection, and the Mongolians came to Europe as a destructive rather than as a cohesive element. The case is quite the contrary with the Byzantines and the Slavonic peoples, who, as we have seen, were the introducers of an important religious movement in the Middle Ages, which came to the other nations not with the sword, but with the Bible and the legends clustering around it. We have, besides, to take into account another point, which has hitherto been overlooked, but which gives another source for communication between the East and West of Europe. I mean the *fourth crusade* in the twelfth century, in which Constantinople was captured by the Franks, and a new Frankish empire established there. Now the connection with their original home was kept up, and it is well known that travellers and soldiers are the most important element in the spread of folk-literature. How easily, then, could these Oriental tales, especially since they had taken firm root in Greece, be passed on to France,

where exactly at this time the literature of fabliaux arose. These fabliaux are versified novels and stories taken from the most various sources. Hitherto it has not always been possible to point out their exact literary source; this can now be explained by the fact that many had been transplanted from the new Frankish empire in Byzantium to the home in the West.

A future comparison of fairy tales in Europe would probably show that those gathered in the Balkan peninsula and in the neighbouring countries are the more primitive and less elaborate, if those tales are of real Oriental origin.

The question of the origin of fairy tales, and especially of the European, is much too delicate and controversial to allow me more than to mention it here. I must pass on, and turn to the romances, of which some found their way into Slavonic literature, and obtained a wide circulation.

Many of these Greek romances were hitherto only known in a Russian form till later investigations established the real fact that almost all these tales, as well as the Church legends, had been brought to the North from the South, where they had been previously translated. In the first place, among these is the romance of a hero who was in early times surrounded by sagas and legends, and whose knightly deeds, bold adventures, and early death have moved all nations from India to Ireland, and

formed for all of them an object of the greatest interest, and even become their pride, so far as they could bring their own history in connection therewith. Even at the present day the name of Alexander the Great lives on in undiminished splendour, and many a legend is still being connected with him. No story has gone through so many adaptations and ornamentations as the "Life of Alexander the Great," falsely attributed to Callisthenes. Each nation has changed it according to its desires, and adapted it to its own views and wishes. The legend of Alexander accordingly affords one of the most instructive examples of the influence of *written* on *oral literature*, and of the reaction of the latter on written literature. In connection with the Alexander saga we can prove the origin of many mediæval beliefs, especially geographical and ethnical ones, which from the book found their way among the people. We can also see how, in its manifold wanderings among different peoples, it has adopted native elements, and was handed on, enriched by them. An accurate comparison of all the versions would doubtless show us the artistic peculiarities of each people. Among these versions are the less known Slavonic and Roumanian versions. These connect themselves more with the Byzantine forms, which are of later date, and expanded by many marvellous episodes. At the same time they have a definite

religious colouring, peculiar to the country and the time. For while in the West, Alexander serves as a brilliant example of a *knight*, in the East he is a *believer* in the Lord Sabaoth, and figures as a champion of the true faith against the infidels. He goes to Jerusalem, and there recognises the true God. So, too, Alexander burns the temple of the idols in Persia, and says, "If they were truly gods, they would be able to show their power and save themselves,"—that is, he speaks and acts like a Christian saint.

Incidentally it may be remarked, that in this story a fact of importance for Zoroastrian literature has been preserved; for in this fire, as all Parsees believe, the old books of Zarathustra were destroyed.

The legend of Alexander meets us in the Slavonic versions in a double form, viz., as an independent story, and as forming part of Chronicles. In the Slavonic translations of Malala and Hamartolos, the Alexander saga had been introduced as early as the thirteenth century, unless we are to assume that it already existed in the Greek originals, from which the Slavonic texts were derived. The independent form is probably of not much later date. The extent of the story is too great for me to give any selections from it. I will only refer to the most striking incidents, and those which exercised the greatest influence on the popular fancy.

"Alexander is, of course, the son of Nektanebus, the king of Egypt; he is educated by Aristotle and tames *Ducipal* (*i.e.*, Bucephalus). After the death of Philip he becomes king of Macedonia. He defeats the Tartars and their king *Atalmish*. He then goes to Rome, where he receives some marvellous gifts, as, for example, Solomon's mantle adorned with snakes' eyes, and three jewels which had twelve properties, and could heal all diseases. He then goes through the wilderness, and sees marvellous beings, with men's faces and snakes' bodies (Gorgons). The war with Darius is then related, and how he hemmed in the wild nations between the mountains; and then are described in full the wonders he saw in the wilderness, men with dog's heads, with one foot, others with one eye, wonderful ants that eat up men; further, the pigmies who war with the storks. Then he reaches the 'Macarian' Isles (of the blessed), where he holds a conversation with the Rahmans and their king Ivant. From him he receives a flask with the water of life; this is, however, all drunk up by his slaves, who are now elves that live for ever.

"He then undertakes a journey to Paradise, but cannot reach it, and returns. He comes across the sun-tree, which prophesies his early death. He is then led down to hell, and sees there sinners and their tears, among them Darius. He dies poisoned by Levkadiush.'

Almost each trait of these complicated contents recurs in popular literature. The description of the wonders of India was a favourite chapbook in the West. A part of zoological mythology is derived from this. In it all the legends about Gryphons and Arimaspians, and similar monsters known to classical antiquity, found a place and thence spread farther. The conversation with the Rahmans occurs again in popular riddles, and many superstitious practices and beliefs connect themselves with the Brahmany who dwell in the East, and for whose happiness care is taken. The well-known legend of St. Christopher Cynocephalos is also connected with this cycle of sagas. Thus the manifold influence of the Alexander saga, which is even to-day a folk-book, is sufficiently clear.* Sir John Mandeville also tells the story of the enclosure of the nations, and has many other wonderful facts which are derived from the Alexander saga. I might, indeed, have often referred in the course of these lectures to the Travels of Sir John Mandeville, had I not feared to repeat them, for it contains a number of the sagas we treat of.

After the *Alexandreïs* we may pass on to a second saga, which in ancient and mediæval times was considered real history, but was later regarded as a saga, and now-a-days, through excavations, has

* Wesselofsky, Iz istorii romana i povesti i. St. Petersburg, 1886, pp. 129–501.

been again placed in the foreground of historical events. I refer of course to the *Trojan War.* Already in ancient times Homer had been supplanted by the fictions of Dares and Dictys. These became the basis of the great work of Guido da Colonna, which, in its turn, became the armoury for all the mediæval representations in prose and poetry. Of the numerous adaptations I need refer here only to that translated and printed by Caxton, "Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye," the first printed book in English.

The lively interest taken by European peoples in the Trojan legend may be explained by their desire to bring their own history into connection with that of the Trojans, and to refer back their genealogy to as ancient a date as possible. Almost all the ruling families of the Middle Ages go back to Troy and Æneas. Thus, in Gregory of Tours, Fredegar, in the German *Kaiser-Chronik,* Jornandes, the Edda even, traces back the Danes to the Trojans. Finally, the English kings are directly connected with Troy through *Brut.*

In the South Slavonic literature we first meet with the Trojan legend in the chroniclers, but we find also that it existed separately. The latter treatment has only recently been met with in a MS. of the beginning of the sixteenth century, now at Bucharest. The treatment is quite short, and it is remarkably interesting owing to its

modifications and insertion of heterogeneous elements. I may venture to give it here in an abridged form :—

"There was in the East a mighty city at the place Skamander ; it had fifty-six gates, out of which seventy standard-bearers could march abreast. The city was named *Troada*. In it was a mighty king named *Amor*. He had once a terrible dream, and was much terrified thereat : his queen bore him a burning torch which set the city on fire and burnt it up. Soon after this the queen gave birth to a girl. When she was six months old she was placed in a tower with dumb hand-maidens. There she grew up, and as she turned every morn to the sun, she learnt a language composed of all tongues. All wondered at this, and her father caused men from all quarters of the world to come to her and listen, and he wrote down the words that each understood. Then they combined all the words together, and the king found that his dream referred to the son who was shortly about to be born. When he was born, the king caused him to be exposed on a lonely mountain. He was there brought up by a she-bear : after three years she was killed by hunters, and the child brought to the king. He recognised his (grand) son. He sets his daughter free, giving her the name *Magdona*, while he calls the boy Alexander, *i.e.*, in Greek, *the found* (*Obretenu*). Magdona paints the picture of

a man, and when any one asks for her hand, she answers that she will only take him for her husband who resembles the picture. One day she saw a man riding through the sea, and she said to her father, 'That is the expected husband.' He is brought in, and it turns out that he is the king of the Saracens, and has travelled through the world to find the beauty whom he has seen in a dream. Magdona is this beauty, and they are married. On the other hand, Alexander finds out from the Magi where is the most beautiful woman in the world. When he learns that she is the wife of King Sion, he orders the Magi to let him see her in a dream and to cause her to see him in the same way. They fall in love with one another. After two years he clothes himself as a merchant and travels to her with many goods. He sees the woman whose name is *Egyluda*, and appears with her before the king, who is astonished at the resemblance between this woman and his wife. Alexander flies with her, and the injured king assembles fourteen other kings, among them King Tog, &c., and they sail for Troas. When Alexander and Egyluda came to Troas, the whole city moved, and the King *Amor* said, 'My dream is being fulfilled.' For ten years the enemy besieged Troas without success. The King Sion had a councillor named *Palmida;* he made an artificial horse in which King Sion and three heroes hid

themselves. A part of the army hid itself near the city. In the morning the whole army made a feint of going right away. They had put the horse-shoes on the horse pointing backwards. At Alexander's command the horse is brought into the city. The heroes come out of it; the others with *Palmida* follow, and the city is destroyed. Alexander flies to his brother-in-law, and rouses him against the Canaanite princes and Tog, who had marched against him. The Sultan takes their lands, and since that time they belong to the Saracens. The servants of King Sion had run off with the wives of the soldiers. A reconciliation is effected between Alexander and Sion, but the servants fight against their lords and destroy one another. King Sion falls and the city of Jerusalem is destroyed. Alexander then sees what trouble one woman can bring into the world: he cuts off her head and throws himself into the sea." *

Here we have the influence of the legend of Solomon and Kitovras in the abduction, not to speak of smaller details which have so changed the legend of Troy. The other form of this legend is based on that of Dictys, included in the Chronicle of Malala. The legend together with the Chronicle was translated probably in the tenth century. Between the two there is still existing an intermediate form of the legend of Troy, preserved in

* Syrku, in Archiv f. Slav. Philologie, vii. pp. 81-87.

the translation of Manasses' Chronicle; this enables us to watch the transition between the two.*

The Middle Greek epic of *Digenis* has quite the character of a romance of chivalry, in which the knight seeks for adventures, undergoes danger, and wins his lady-love after many hard tasks and contests. The Slavonic translation of this was known long before the Greek text was recovered and edited. Recent investigations have not alone proved the great age of this version, but have shown the influence it exercised on the epic songs of Russia. Many *Byline*, as these songs are termed in Russia, are derived from the "Adventures of the Invincible Devgenie." We may go a step farther, and in popular tales and in Slavonic fairy tales again recognise this romance. Its contents may shortly be put as follows :—"A Saracen or Arabic Emir loves the daughter of a pious widow of royal descent who lives in Greece. He collects an army, invades Greece, and steals the girl. She has three brothers, and her mother sends them in pursuit of the Emir, and orders them not to return without their sister, or they may lose their heads. They fly like a hawk with golden wings and reach the borders of Arabia, where they kill 3000 guards, who attacked them from three sides. By this means they reach the Emir, who allows them to decide by lot which of them shall fight with him. Thrice does the lot

* Pypin, Očerku, p. 54 *seq.*

fall on the youngest, and he fights with and conquers the Emir. The latter promises to be baptized from love of their sister. The brothers then ask the sister how he had treated her. She had been covered with jewels, and her face was veiled and had been well guarded, and she says he only saw her once at a distance in thirty days. They all go together to Greece, and the Emir becomes a Christian and marries her. The mother of the Emir is vexed at this, and she sends three Saracens to bring him back. She gives them three horses, Wind, Thunder, and Lightning. When they ride on Wind, they would be invisible in Greece. When they ride on Thunder, they would be heard throughout Arabia when they came back. When they ride on Lightning, they would be invisible to all. They come to Greece and hide themselves. The Emir's wife has a wonderful dream; from this the Emir learns about the three Saracens. These are fetched from their hiding-place and are converted to Christianity. The three horses are given to the three brothers-in-law."

"After some time a child is born to the Emir, who receives the names *Devgenij* and *Akritas*. He grows quickly and becomes a perfect hero by his fourteenth year. He tears into pieces an elk and a bear, and kills a monster with four heads near a marvellous brook. He is, in short, the true hero of the romance, the previous incidents only

serving as an introduction to his adventures, which form the chief contents of the book. We are told of his fights with Persians and Saracens, quite after the manner of knights, recalling in tone and colour in a remarkable way the *Shah-nameh* of Firdusi. Of especial interest are two episodes, because they afford us parallels to the heroic tales of the North, and have, it would seem, strongly influenced certain Russian *Byline* or epic songs; as, for example, the songs of Dobryna and Nastasia, &c. These episodes run as follows:—

Digenis fights with Filip-papa (in Greek *Philiopappos*), one of the greatest of heroes, and then with his daughter *Maximiana*, whom he conquers. Filip-papa thereupon says to Digenis that there is a much greater hero than he is, and that is *Stratig*, with his four sons and daughter, who is an Amazon, and had hitherto been unconquered. Digenis goes to meet her, plays on a silver harp with golden strings, and wins the maiden's love. He conquers the father and the brothers, marries the maiden, and receives rich gifts from her relations. In this Slavonic version the characters have become a little mixed; this can be checked by the Greek original. The unconquered heroine is not the daughter of Stratig, nor does he ever fight with her, but it is *Maximiana*, who is an Amazon princess. She is the counterpart of Brunhilde in Northern mythology. Stratig's daughter, in the

Greek *Ducas*, is carried off by Digenis. He is pursued by her relatives; he conquers them and then follows a final reconciliation, as in the Slavonic.

The fame of Digenis, who is also called *Aniketos* the Invincible, lives on to the present day in Greek folk-songs. He is the type of invincible strength, and even struggles with Charon, the modern Greek god of death, till he is defeated by Death. In this form he occurs in Russian and Roumanian folk-tales about heroes who struggle with death. This story has passed into a Russian song of *Anika Voinu*, *i.e.*, the hero Anika (from the Greek *Aniketos*), and it has been pictorially represented in one of the Russian block-books (*Lubočnyja Kartinki*). I have already referred to the Apocrypha of Abraham or the "Legend of Moses," which has influenced it, as well as the whole cycle of similar tales to which it belongs. These are the Greek epic romances, which have also come into the possession of the Slavonic peoples.

VI.

APOLOGUES AND FABLES.—BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT.—THE WISE AKIR AND SYNTIPAS.

VI.

I PASS now to the legendary biography of Buddha, which, as early as the eighth century, had been transformed into a Christian legend. The "Life of St. Barlaam and Josaphat" was attributed to St. John of Damascus, or another St. John, and was at an early date translated into Slavonic. St. Josaphat is no other than Buddha himself; he too leaves house and home, honour and throne, to follow his teacher, Barlaam, into the desert, and to lead the life of a hermit. This determination is produced in him by the sight of human misery on four occasions, just as is told of Buddha. This self-sacrifice answers exactly to the ascetic spirit of the Middle Ages and the heretical movement, and it is no rash assumption to attribute to it a part in the spread of this religious romance through Europe. In a previous part I have referred to the deep impression this episode made on the feeling of the people, and even to the present day the song is sung in Russia and Roumania which Josaphat addresses to the solitary wood where he is about to pass his life. The spread of this tale would be likewise encouraged by the poetical parables which it contains; among them

that of the three caskets of the "Merchant of Venice." Almost equally celebrated is that of a man flying from a unicorn, and hiding himself in a brook, where he clings to a tree that grows there. He sees two mice, the one white, the other black, and they gnaw at the root of the tree, while under him stands a dragon with open jaws. Then the man notices a honeycomb on the tree, and he forgets everything while he eats it. The unicorn is death, the brook the world full of evil, the tree life gnawed away by day and night, the dragon hell, and man forgets all this to enjoy a few drops of earthly pleasure.

These parables were repeated times innumerable; every one of them has its own history, and we often meet with them in Slavonic and Roumanian literatures.

A second biography, though not of a saint, which I can also trace back to the East, is the "Life of Æsop," falsely attributed to Planudes. This is also full of marvellous tales of cleverness and wit. Translated from Greek into Latin, these tales likewise find a place in world-literature. I have said that this life is falsely attributed to Planudes, and I support this conjecture by the fact that we possess in Slavonic literature a tale only differing from it in a few of the biographical details, and which is older than the epoch of Planudes. This is the "Story of the Wise Akir, and the Sultan Sina-

grip, and Anadam, the nephew of Akir." There is almost an identical agreement of this tale, the drift of which I will give, with many passages of the "Æsop." It runs as follows:—

"In a land, Adar, lives a king, Sinagrip. He has a wise counsellor named Akirie, who is very rich, but has no children. He therefore adopts his nephew, Anadam, and educates him in the best manner. After a time he appoints him his successor in his post, and retires. But Anadam wanted to destroy him entirely, so that he may soon inherit his wealth. He therefore accuses Akirie before the king, and says he wished to dethrone him. Akirie is taken prisoner and condemned to death. But a friend takes his part, and hides him from the world. When Pharaoh heard of the death of Akirie, he sends an ambassy to Sinagrip to request that he would send him an architect to build a city in the air and to answer all riddles that one could ask him. Sinagrip regrets the death of the wise Akirie. His friend thereupon informs him that he is alive. He is sent to Egypt under another name. There he makes clever answers to all riddles. In order to build the city in the air, he binds a chest to two eagles, places a child in the chest, and gives it a spit with flesh on it, and tells it to hold this up. The eagles fly with the chest into the sky. When he is up there, the child asks for bricks and mortar. Pharaoh owns his defeat,

and recognises that his visitor must be Akirie. The latter returns home full of honours. His nephew is given up to him for punishment. He only reminds him every day of what he has done, which he takes so much to heart that he dies." *

This, shortly put, is the contents of the book, and it occurs in exactly the same form in the "Life of Æsop," with only a change in the names. The direct source of the story of Akirie is doubtless Greek. It is curious that hitherto no Greek text has been found for it, and the suggestion occurs to one that the Greek text has passed into the "Life of Æsop." This explains the disappearance of Akirie in Greek, and, on the other hand, the non-existence of Æsop in the Old Slavonic literature. The Oriental original is preserved in the "Arabian Nights," even the names there corresponding. Akirie is called *Heykar*, and Sinagrip *Sinharib*, *i.e.*, the Biblical *Sennacherib*. The story, however, goes farther back, and the journey through the air and the riddles connect it with the Solomonic cycle; for the Oriental fable tells of Solomon, how he flew through the air, carried by a demon. Out of this was later made a flying carpet, a flying chest, and even a flying horse, as we meet with them in the fairy tales of all parts of the world. It is also reported of Buddha, of Nimrod, and of Alexander that they flew in the air carried by eagles. The

* Gaster, Lit. Pop., p. 104 *seq.*

gnomes which Akirie gives to his nephew, put in striking form like proverbs, have become popular sayings in Russia and Roumania.

The popularity enjoyed by Akirie in the past, and even in the present, has prevented that of the "Life of Æsop" from becoming popular, but not his fables, which have been translated into Slavonic. We need not be surprised to find that the number and form of these fables varies greatly. Still less need we be surprised that many of them have become common property and occur as so-called animal-fables, and in the form of fairy-tales.

We may connect with this series of Oriental tales the important book of novels *Syntipas.* The history of this book, originally Indian, and afterwards placed by its attractive contents at the head of the novel-literature of the Middle Ages, is by itself a striking example of how such literature spread. Early translated into Syriac, it was translated into Greek by Andreopulos in the eleventh century. From an Arabic translation was derived a Hebrew one, then a Latin one, and it thence found a home in all vernaculars. But during its travels it grew larger and larger. Tales belonging to quite a different source were introduced into it, and it received a different name in each country. The oldest and favourite one is *Syntipas,* the name of a sage who takes the chief part in it. In other versions it is called "The Book of the Seven Wise

Masters," because seven sages appear in it. Even their number was increased, and so we get a "Book of the Ten Wise Masters," and even "Of the Forty Veziers." Its contents may be thus abridged :—

"After many years without a child, a king at last obtains a son. As soon as he is grown, he gives him to the care of the sage *Syntipas*, the wisest man in his kingdom. Many years pass and the prince is about to return home to his father. The sage searches the stars, and finds a great danger threatening the prince, and that there is only one means of evading it, and that is that he should be silent for seven days. This is done, and the king is in great trouble over it. The stepmother of the prince causes him to be brought to her, on the pretext of being able to cause him to speak. There is then a repetition of the old episode of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. The queen accuses him, and seeks to have him killed. Then there appear seven sages, and each tells a tale, the moral of which is that a man should not be too hasty, for woman is not to be trusted. In this way the punishment is put off from day to day. The queen also appears each day and tells on her side a story, intended to induce the king not to listen to his counsellors. Thus the fateful seven days pass over, and on the eighth appear *Syntipas* and the prince, who, being able now to speak, tells the truth." This is the framework story by which the others are connected, their

number being increased and the form altered as time goes on. This is also true of other Oriental tales, like the "Arabian Nights," *Pantchatantra*, &c. The novel-writers of the Middle Ages followed their example, as Boccaccio, Cinthio, Margaret of Navarra, and Chaucer. So far as we yet know the literature of the Southern Slavs, the book of *Syntipas*, as a book, has not been preserved in it. The Russian version of the sixteenth century was derived from a Polish one which came from the West. But a large number of the stories contained in it have been preserved in the folk-literature of the Southern Slavonic nations, especially in their jest-books.

On the other hand, we possess a translation of early date of the no less important *Pantchatantra*. The history of its travels is no less interesting than that of *Syntipas*. While the latter is more closely connected with the novel literature, the *Pantchatantra* is more closely connected with tales. The investigation of this connection was, as I have already said, a turning-point in the history of folk-lore, with which the name of Benfey will ever be connected.

Brought at an early date from India, the book was first translated into Pehlevi, in the mixed dialect of the Sassanide epoch. From this were made Syrian and Arabic versions, under the name of *Kalilag and Damnag*, or *Kalila and Dimna*.

These names are derived from those of two jackals, *Karataka* and *Damanaka*, which play a principal *rôle* in the framework-story. From Arabic it was translated by Symeon Seth in 1080 into Greek, and from this into Slavonic, perhaps in the twelfth century. Owing to a mistake about the proper names, Seth called Kalila *Stephanit* and Dimna *Ihnilates*, and these names also occur in the Slavonic translations. I cannot here of course pursue the history of the Arabic version, which was translated into no less than five different languages, and thus passed into the folk-literature of Europe. I will merely give a few examples out of the Slavonic translation, which, like the Greek, is shorter than the other versions. I will preface these with the remark that the book is attributed in Slavonic to St. John of Damascus, owing to a mistake about the title, because Seth was said to be also of Damascus.

Of a Merchant.—It is related that in a certain city there was a merchant who wished to travel on business, and left some iron with a man as a pledge. When he came back, he went to the man with whom he had left the iron, and said to him, "Friend, give me the iron that I left with you." He answered him, "I placed your iron in one of my cellars, and the mice have eaten it up. But do not trouble yourself about that, for you have come back safe and sound.

Come to us one of these days, and we will have a feast and rejoice over your return." The other man agreed, and came to eat with him. After dinner he went home with him. There he saw the son of the man with whom he had left the iron, seized him, carried him to his own house, and hid him there. Coming out again, he saw the man seeking everywhere for his son. He then said to him, "If you are looking for your son, (know) that I have seen an eagle carrying him through the air." But the other turned round and said, "Have you ever seen an eagle carrying a man?" But the merchant answered, "In a place where mice eat iron, an eagle can carry a man away." The other understood, and gave him back his iron, on which he gave him back his son.*

Here ends the story, which recurs in innumerable jest-books. Another story is the celebrated fable, La Fontaine's *Perette*.

"There was once a poor man who had received from a friend some butter and honey, which he hung up in a pot. One night he thought to himself and said, "I'll sell this butter and honey; with this I'll get ten she-goats, and these will in five months give birth to as many kids. In five years I shall have at least 750, and so they will go on increasing. I shall then sell them, and buy 100 oxen, with which I will plough, and from their

* A. Viktorov, Stefanit i Ihinlat, Moscow, 1881, pp. 32-33.

produce I shall become very rich, and build a house four storeys high and covered with gilding, and I'll buy several slaves and marry a wife. She shall bear me a son, who shall be called *Pangel"* (*i.e.*, "in all good"), "and I'll bring him up as I like; and if I find him disobedient, I'll punish him with this rod." At this he seized the rod which lay near him, and, without intending it, struck the pot with the butter and honey and broke it, and the butter and honey ran away.*

As in the Greek original, the Slavonic contains in addition the chapter on the king's dreams, which is wanting in the Arabic version, while it still exists in the Syrian and Tibetan versions. These symbolic dreams and their interpretations exist independently, with the title "The Dreams of the Tzar Mamer and Shahaisha." Besides these, other Oriental tales are included in the Slavonic MSS.; these, it may be conjectured, also occurred in the Greek original, and were translated from it.

. . . . . .

Having arrived at the conclusion of this short sketch of the Greeko-Slavonic literature, I may take a short retrospect of the line of argument. The first thing that meets us is the fact, established by numerous examples, that we can no longer consider the soul-lives of the European peoples in the Middle Ages as independent from

* Viktorov, *l.c.*, p. 67.

one another. Paths lead from one nation to another, along which passes a literature which exercises a *uniform* influence on all, the traces of which are to be found not alone in mediæval, but also in modern folk-lore. It follows, further, that the literature of the people, as we now have it, is throughout dependent on a previous *literary* period. It is from literary works that there passed into the consciousness of the nations almost all legends, sagas, fairy tales, and even amulets, spells, and other superstitious customs.

As a third result, we have seen that the common sources out of which these have been derived are mostly of Oriental origin, and are seldom known in Europe *before the tenth century.* It is by no means implied that the peoples of Europe had nothing of the sort before, or that no mythological views were prevalent in earlier times. Nature abhors a vacuum, and so does the human mind. But the earlier possessions must have been of poor and unenduring quality, and few positive traces can be shown of this early mythology. The similarity of legends and customs which used to be given as proofs for the existence of a mythology, and that the same for all nations, will henceforth be considered as proofs to the contrary. Not a little of this folk-lore can be traced back to one and the same literary source, and we have therefore explained the identity of legends and customs

amongst different nations of Europe, not by means of any hypothetical identity of their mythology, but by the actual identity of their literary substratum. I have had to confine myself to narrow limits, otherwise many other Oriental and Christian legends might have been traced through all forms of folk-literature in their subsequent changes; at first saga or legend, then chronicle, knightly adventure, and fairy tale, then epic, and finally lyrical song. Reminiscences of these might have been found in superstitions, customs, and habits. Further, their influence on art might have been traced in iconography and sculpture, and many other branches.

The few examples I have adduced will have proved, I hope, that the folk-literature of Western Europe is derived for the most part from the literature of the East, and especially from the Christian and Buddhist literatures. We have recognised in Greeko-Slavonic literature the chief, and often the only factor, in the communion of East and West. Apocryphal and imaginative works, early introduced into Greece, were brought thence into the Slavonic lands, and the missionaries of dualism thence carried to all quarters these religious tales, which were easily taken up and assimilated by the people. It was also from the South-East, and probably by oral tradition, that the knights and soldiers of the fourth crusade brought romances of chivalry and Buddhistic fables, which must

have found their way with other works from India through Persia and Asia Minor to Byzantium and the Balkan peninsula. The veil that has hitherto hidden the history and importance of Slavonic and Middle Greek literature is gradually beginning to be raised, and we obtain a new fertile source for the critical inquiry of our time. The connection between Western and Greeko-Slavonic literature has been broken and their unity dissolved, and I shall consider myself fortunate if it is granted to me to have restored this connection, and to have shown, even if only on a small scale, that all these elements worked harmoniously together in religion and poetry, fable and tale, creating a new birth of the spirit in Europe, the results of which are to be seen in the civilisation of to-day.

VII.

THE SLAVONIC PEOPLES IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA.—ORIGIN OF THE SLAVONIC LITERATURE.—CYRILL AND METHOD.

VII.

After the brief sketch of Greeko-Slavonic literature given in the preceding pages, it is absolutely necessary that we should attempt to form some idea of the background on which our picture was painted. I must content myself here with the merest sketch of the most important events which took place in the Balkan peninsula, viz., the invasion and settlement of the Slavonic tribes, their struggles with the Greeks, the arrival of the Bulgarians, and the influence exercised by them on neighbouring peoples. We shall then come to the conversion of the Slavs to Christianity, the two apostles of the Slavs, Cyrill and Method, the inventors of the Slavonic alphabet and the founders of Slavonic literature.

Probably no country in Europe, with the exception of the neighbouring Roumania, has been the scene of so many invasions and raids as the Balkan peninsula. It was the first stage reached by the Aryans as they crossed over from Asia, at first the mysterious Pelasgians, then the Hellenes, who supplanted them, then the Thracians in the north, with their numerous tribes and divisions. If the

Albanians, as is generally assumed, are descended from the Thracians, then these last two peoples, the Hellenes and Thracians, have kept their hold on the Balkan peninsula to the present day.

Innumerable are the names of the more recent peoples who have passed through the peninsula, from the Gauls to the Romans, Goths, Huns, Avars, Petchenegs, and Cumans. I merely mention these names and pass at once to the Slavs, who more nearly interest us. Nor will I go into the question of the original home of the Slavs. Suffice it to remark, that the Bulgarians and Servians of to-day were originally identical with the Slovenes in Pannonia, and that they wandered from there in the course of many centuries into Mœsia, which had been laid waste and depopulated by the hordes traversing it. At last, in the fifth century, they became powerful enough to undertake expeditions on their own account against the Byzantine empire. Many investigators place the Slovenes in Roumania about this time, basing their conclusions on the Slavonic place-names. Some have gone so far as to call the ancient Dacians Slavs. Critical investigation brings to light the fact that these Slavonic place-names are of comparatively recent date, and bear trace of specific sounds which belong to a late period of the Slavonic language, when this began to split up into dialects and came under Bulgarian influence.

The Slavonic population of the Balkan peninsula

displayed no power of cohesion, just as that of Russia failed to show any in the early period. Its organisation is that of the clan, each clan being settled in a separate hamlet, with its *knez* at its head. This word, which in Slavonic, and thence in Roumanian, means *leader* or *chief*, is of peculiar interest, as it is borrowed from the Goths, among whom the word appears as *kuni*. The English word *king* is absolutely identical with it, coming through the O. H. G. *cunic*, A.-S. *cuning*. It is further well known that in consequence of the Arian movement Bishop Ulfilas, the translator of the Bible into Gothic, led part of his people across the Danube and settled in Mœsia, and it is from this quarter that the Slavs, who arrived there later, took this name. This may serve us as an index to settle the date of the invasion and settlement of the Slavs in the Balkan peninsula. This must have been consummated about 670 A.D. Even earlier than this Byzantine chroniclers mention struggles with the *Sklavinoi*. Thus Constantine II. led an expedition against the people of the land called Sklavinia in 657 A.D., and conquered them.

A turning-point in the political life of the Southern Slavs is formed by the invasion of the Finno-Tartar nation of the Bulgarians, who came, under the guidance of *Isperich*, in 679 A.D. from the north through the present Dobrugea to Mœsia. Like the German Varægians in Russia, they col-

lected their scattered clans and united them into one nation, to which they gave their name, unlike the Varægians, whose name disappeared.*

The few relics of the Bulgarian language which still remain—mostly consisting of proper names —do not permit us at present to determine exactly their ethnological character. The most recent hypothesis is that they are related to the *Tchuvashians*, whose descendants, it is probable, are the present Tartars at Kazan. The name *Bulgar* has been connected with that of the river *Volga*. They certainly belong to the great family of *Turkish* peoples who ruled in South Russia for centuries, and of whom the Chazars are the best known. They did not come, however, alone, but with them came also Finnish tribes, absorbed afterwards into one nation.†

Contemporary writers have given us a few details about their customs, which confirm this guess. I will merely mention their burial customs. As soon as a great man died, he was laid out in a mortuary in which were also shut up his favourite wife and his slaves. They occur most frequently in South Russia, and in Roumania. As regards this point Bulgaria is still a *terra incognita*.

The number of these conquerors cannot have been inconsiderable, as it took two or more centu-

* *Cf.* Jireček, C. T. Geschichte der Bulgaren Prag, 1876, p. 126 *seq.*

† Miklosich, in Miscellanea di Filolologia e Linguistica Florence, 1886, pp. 1–4.

ries before the Bulgarian language died away, and conquerors and conquered were remodelled into a new people. This period is filled with mighty struggles which roused the Byzantine empire, as under Krum, Boris, Ormortag, &c. The power of the Bulgarians spread over almost the whole of the Balkan peninsula; all its inhabitants were subdued. By the side of Greeks and Slovenes, and older than the latter, there was a Roman population throughout the Middle Ages known by the name of Wallachians, and destined to play an important *rôle* in the history of Bulgaria. Besides these there were the Albanians, and likewise scattered remnants of other peoples like the Goths and Avars, who had settled there. Over all these the power of the Bulgarians spread, and yet it is generally assumed that no trace of their influence remains. I call attention to this point, as the view I have to bring forward contradicts all these theories.

If we observe the languages of the Balkan peninsula as they appear before us to-day, they all betray a surprising similarity in their grammatical formation. This is especially the case, as it is important to notice, in their inflexions, a point in which every language shows itself, as is well known, remarkably sensitive, and only loses them under some striking influence of another language. English is so prominent an example of this fact, that I need only refer to this point.

Now Albanian, Roumanian, Neo-Greek, and Bulgarian, as well as Servian in part, offer us such identical phenomena, that the influence which has produced this change in all four languages must, under every circumstance, have been *simultaneous*. This consideration excludes any Thracian influence, which was first assumed by Thunmann and Kopitar, and is now generally accepted. According to this theory, the Roumanians, Greeks, and Bulgarians, through intermixture with the indigenous Thracian population, lost many of their grammatical inflexions. As a proof of this, it is urged that the Albanian, which represents the old Thracian, presents the same phenomena. But much has been overlooked which renders this view impossible, as I believe; for between the influence of the Dacians, who are supposed to be identical with the Thracians, on the Roumanians, and the same on the Slavs, intervene at least *several centuries*. It is not to be assumed that a language could have remained unchanged for many centuries, and should have produced *exactly the same* linguistic results on a quite different medium, in one case Slavonian and in the other Latin. For the moment I will not press the point that at the time of the Slavonic invasion only Roman colonies in Mœsia and descendants of Goths are referred to, whereas there is not the slightest reference to any Thracian population,

though this must have been very numerous, to judge from the influence assumed. Of far greater importance is the difficulty offered by Albanian. To the present day no one has succeeded in definitely settling the linguistic characteristics of this language. By the side of the Thracian theory there exists also a Greek theory, which recognises in Albanian an archaic (Pelasgian) form of Greek. I need not discuss such an hypothesis farther. The point of interest is the grammatical similarity with the other tongues. The philosophy of language does not permit us to regard this as the original type after which the remaining languages have formed themselves. Phenomena such as those before us only occur as the result of a conflict, of a struggle between the two languages, in which *both* suffer losses, and become elevated into a third language having a higher unity. We must, therefore, regard these forms in Albanian as *late*. It would be otherwise inexplicable how a form should have been preserved in Albanian which in the other languages is undoubtedly of *later* formation. Finally, if we pass to Modern Greek, we find the same objection against a Thracian origin which we adduced when speaking of Bulgarian, viz., that there was never so numerous a Thracian population as could transform Greek in so essential a manner.

In addition to all these points we have to take into account the fact, which comes out irrepressibly

in an analytical investigation of, for example, the Roumanian language; this is, that these changes must have taken place at a late period—at a period when the Latin language had already been transformed into the Roumanian; in particular, after the end of the change of consonants, but before the determination of the inflexions. If we assume that this transformation of Slavonic into Bulgarian, and of Greek into Modern Greek is of late date, we are necessarily obliged to assume some thoroughgoing simultaneous influence spreading over the whole Balkan peninsula between the seventh and the tenth century, and transforming all the tongues there and then in existence in *precisely the same way.*

But there is no other nation to whom we can ascribe this change but that of the Bulgarians, which made its appearance in so striking a manner about this time, establishing a kingdom which flourished for centuries. The number of the Bulgarians could not have been inconsiderable, as one can perceive if one thinks of the numerous populations whom they ruled. Besides, they managed to keep alive their language about more than two centuries, although in a continuous struggle with other peoples and languages; and though it passed over into these, yet not, as was previously thought, without leaving deep traces on them.

The next important factor was the acceptance of Christianity, which had a most extensive influence on the development of the Slavonic peoples; for by the side of their faith, and in consequence of their faith, there grew up for them a literature and progress.

In course of time the whole of Western Europe had been converted to Christianity; even the Slavic tribes in Moravia, Pannonia, and Croatia had been baptized. Threatened by Christian Byzantium in the south, Boris, Prince of the Bulgars, saw himself surrounded on all sides by Christians, and, to relieve himself from the threatening danger and to ensure his political security, he determined to proceed to Byzantium and to accept Christianity.

Accordingly, about the year 864–865, he was baptized at Constantinople, and received the name of Michael. It was only after a long hesitation between Rome and Constantinople that he decided in favour of the latter, and received thence the first Bulgarian bishop, by name Joseph. Boris-Michael withdrew in old age into a monastery, and after his death became the first Bulgarian saint. The news of the conversion of the Bulgarian ruler and of part of his people soon spread, and attracted missionaries desirous of winning over a people who had shown themselves ready to give up their old faith. I may mention specially the Paulicians or Manichæans, who came about this time into Bulgaria, and also

the Jews, who had likewise converted the Chazars to Judaism. I draw particular attention to these two factors, as they were of great importance in the spiritual and literary movements of the following centuries.

The Bulgarian power reached its culmination under Boris's successor, Tzar Samuel (893–927). The whole peninsula was in his hands, and he called himself *Tzar i Samoderžetz Bulgaramu i Grekamu, i.e.*, Tzar (Cæsar) and independent ruler of Bulgarians and Greeks. His time, and that of his successor Peter, is likewise the golden age of Slavonic literature, which had now found a true home and reached its highest limit. The seed which the apostles of the Slavonians had sown in the West rose, strange to say, in the East. At this point, then, I will follow out in a few words the careers and activity of the apostles of the Slavs.

Constandin was born in 827 A.D., of a distinguished family, probably in Thessalonica: it is not known whether he was of Slavonic origin. He was sent to Constantinople, and brought up at the Imperial Court. His remarkable knowledge of languages was peculiarly noticeable, especially of Oriental languages. But I will not enter into the details of his biography, contenting myself with the chief points. He early became a monk, and received the name of Cyril. In this character he travelled among the Chazars, whom he is said in a

legend to have converted to Christianity. His younger brother, Methodius, who had at first held some official post, but afterwards also became a monk in the monastery at Olympus, accompanied him in his journey to the Chazars.

In the year 862 A.D. they were both dispatched by the Emperor, Michael III., to Ratislav, in Moravia, where they proceeded to develop their literary labours. They first translated the Gospel and the Liturgy into Slavonic. All difficulties which lay in their path they were enabled to overcome by aid of the Pope; for Cyril journeyed to Rome, and the Slavic Mass was thrice repeated in the churches of Rome, with the permission of the Pope. Cyril died in the year 869 A.D. Methodius henceforth continued by himself the work which he and Cyril had begun. The Pope revived the long-disused Bishopric of Pannonia, and appointed Methodius to this See. He was also specially favoured by Prince Kocel, who resided at Blatna (nowadays L. Platten). In 885 A.D. Methodius died at Velegrad, then the capital of Bohemia. Two years ago pilgrimages to his grave, on the thousandth anniversary of his death, were performed by all the Slavonic nations.

Scarcely had Methodius closed his eyes in death when persecution on the part of the German bishops, started already in his lifetime, was renewed with greater force. The numerous disciples

whom Methodius had collected around him fled to Bulgaria, and brought with them the Slavonic alphabet. Up to a very recent time the so-called Cyrillian alphabet was regarded as the genuine work of the Apostle Cyril. But many texts were found written in an entirely different character, termed *Glagolitza*, and this was studied first by Kopitar, then by Schafarik, Miklosich, and Jagic, and, mostly on philological grounds, was declared to be the true Cyrillian alphabet, the so-called Cyrillian being of later date. The chief proof of this position—and it was more and more confirmed as time went on by the discovery of new texts — was that the texts written in this character came nearest to the language in which Cyril worked, viz., the Pannonian, now termed Old Slavonic. They were, besides, the oldest relics of the language, some of them not a hundred years later than Cyril. The most important evidence of all was that Cyrillian palimpsests were invariably written over Glagolitic texts. A Cyrillian text is, in such cases, invariably written over a Glagolitic one that had been erased, and never *vice versâ*. This proves incontestably that the Cyrillian is later than the Glagolitic. The most important Glagolitic texts are *Clozianus* (edit. Kopitar), *Codex Zographos* (Athos, ed. Jagic), and the *Codex Assemani* (at Rome), and others.

Not a few attempts have been made to explain the origin of this curious alphabet. The difficulties

are many. In the first place, the remarkable form of the letters; then their no less remarkable names, which are completely unsystematic, and, when translated, become unintelligible. All kinds of suggestions have been made, none of which have led to positive results. Some have thought of the Runes (Hanush), others of the Gothic alphabet of Ulfilas (Schafarik), others again of the Greek Tahygraphs (Taylor), and, finally, resort has been had to the idea of a peculiar and prototypal (Greeko-Latin) Albanian alphabet (Geitler); but none of these explain either the names and arrangement of the letters, or even their form.

I may venture to suggest what I believe to be a new solution, which seems to me to remove the greatest difficulties, and carries with it no inherent improbability. As I have remarked above, the literary labours of the brothers Cyril and Methodius began after their return from the Chazars, where they, according to legend, held disputations with Jews, Mohammedans, and Schismatics, *i.e.*, Manichæans. The last were, without doubt, Armenians, as these were at that time the chief representatives of Manichæan ideas, and sent out missionaries in all directions.

How easily might Cyril have adopted this Armenian or a similar alphabet, when it became known to him among the Chazars, as most suitable for his purpose, and have adapted it to express the Slavonic

sounds? That this must have been really the case is proved by the similarity of the Glogolitza with Armenian and Georgian, if we disregard, as is only natural, a few modifications which have taken place in the former. The other so-called Cyrillian was probably compiled by Clement, one of Cyril's disciples in Bulgaria. He took the Greek uncials as a foundation, because they were then better known, and took the characters still wanting, from the Glogolitic. Clement was later Bishop of Velica, and died 916 A.D. This is the origin of this alphabet, which drove the other from the field and usurped its name; and in this manner was the foundation laid for a Slavonic literature, with which we have now to deal. Further details are to be found in the Appendix B.

The chief representatives of this literature are the so-called *Seven Saints*, viz., Cyril and Methodius themselves, and their five immediate disciples, Clement, Gorazd, Angelar, Naum, and Sava, to whom for the most part the ecclesiastical literature owes its Slavonic form. They translated the Bible, the Liturgy, "Legends of the Saints," *Synaxaria*, as they were called; homilies, among which the *Zlatostruj*, or "Golden Stream," deserves to be mentioned, as it was attributed to Tzar Samuel, and contains a collection of more than 100 (? 105) homilies of St. Chrysostom (Slav. *Zlatoust*). Under his auspices the Byzantine chronicles of Malalas and Gregorios

Hamartolos (Slav. *Greshnyj*) were translated, and the great Slavonic encyclopædia arose termed *Izbornik*, or "Collection of all the Important Knowledge of the Time." In imitation of the Hexaëmeron of Basil, Joanes, the Exarch, compiled a similar compilation of theological, philosophical, and scientific views on cosmogony, connecting them with the first chapter of Genesis. The book is known under the name of *Shestodnev, i.e.*, "Hexaëmeron on the Six Days," &c.

The impulse once given, continued through the centuries, even through the two centuries during which Bulgaria had ceased to exist, and was entirely joined to Byzantium. It continued later under the Asenides, who again made Bulgaria independent, till it fell under the power of the Turks. Tzar Samuel had often beaten the Greeks, and came near taking Constantinople; but after his death a political decline succeeded, though the progress of thought, on the other hand, went on increasing. Under the influence of Tzar Peter (927–968 A.D.) a rich diversity of spiritual life was shown. The state was often disturbed by the Greeks, and in 971 East Bulgaria was conquered by Emperor John Zimiski. Basil II. frequently beat Tzar Samuel, grandson of Symeon, and likewise his successor, John Vladislav, who met his death in the battle of Durazzo in 1018. In the same year Bulgaria became a Byzantine province, to rebel again, and fall afterwards into the

hands of the Turks until the liberating war of 1878.

The Slavonic literature became meanwhile the literature of the orthodox peoples of the South-West of Europe, and especially of the Slavonic nations. Naturally in the MSS. peculiarities of the special languages have crept in, which enable us to determine the home of each at a glance. I will only mention one of these peculiarities, though that is a specially important one. The nasal vowels ѧ, ѥ, are replaced by one or other of the remaining vowels when the MS. is not written in Bulgaria.

During recent centuries the chief place of refuge for this literature, as well as its chief place of cultivation, have been the monasteries on Mount Athos. To the present day many a precious MS. is preserved there, and from there most of the best MSS. to be found in Russia derive their origin. Thus the celebrated "Zographos Gospel," now in Moscow, once belonged to the Zographos Monastery on Mount Athos. The connection with Roumania and Russia has never ceased. Many of the most important monasteries are foundations of the Roumanian princes. The important position that Mount Athos holds for Greek literature is well known to all concerned with the subject, nor can it be said that the whole matter has been as yet thoroughly investigated. Still less can we say that we have a complete control over the whole of old Bulgarian

literature. Slavonic MSS. are to be found scattered throughout all the libraries of Europe, and in many monasteries of Bulgaria itself, of Roumania, and of Russia, which have not yet been explored. But what we have in hand is sufficient to enable us to settle its extent, and determine its characteristics with some amount of precision.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

THE BIBLE HISTORIALE.

In close connection with the history of the Bible proper, of its translation, and of the influence it exercised, especially during the Middle Ages, is the history of the so-called *Bible Historiale*, viz., the historical part of the Bible, enriched and embellished by legendary and exegetical means, to serve at the same time homiletical and edifying purposes.

There is, however, notwithstanding its great importance, no special study which, as far as I know, endeavours to fill the gap of our knowledge in this respect, to trace the development of the *Bible Historiale* through the literatures of Europe, and to discover its probable origin. The following pages claim to be no more than an attempt to gather scattered elements and to bring this literary problem under a new light, furnished by the Oriental, and especially by the Slavonic literature with which we are dealing. There is no need to add that it is only a brief sketch, in consideration of the literature it embraces, the wide space it covers, and the results to which it leads.

Under the name of *Bible Historiale* is generally understood the Latin compilation of *Pierre le Mangeur*, or Petrus Comestor, vice-chancellor of the University of Paris in the thirteenth century, termed by himself *Historia Scholastica*. Composed about 1175, it is the first compilation embracing the entire contents of the Old and New Testament. At short intervals there are also introduced special chapters referring to the history of the world. The author excluded from his work the dogmatical and prophetical portions of the Bible, and the rest is not rendered in a literal translation, but in a mere paraphrase of the text. Sometimes this is shortened, very often explanatory glosses of an exegetic or polemical character are added. Not seldom the author inserts legendary traits or entire legends drawn from non-canonical sources. Almost every episode is treated and commented in an allegorical or spiritual way, and the author has often the opportunity of showing his profound learning, and his deep acquaintance with the philosophical and scholastical speculations of the time.

By the success this compilation shortly afterwards acquired it seems that it perfectly suited the taste of the time. Not long after its appearance the book was translated into the vernacular French, and it served as a basis and model for many similar productions both in prose and verse in various countries.

One question, however, has not even yet been satisfactorily settled, namely, from what sources did Comestor draw his legendary stories, and how far is he indebted to some other similar compilation?

This question is the more difficult to answer, as hitherto under the heading of *Bible Historiale* many books have been classed which bear some resemblance to each other. A closer inquiry proves, however, that there existed at least *two different Bible-histories*, one of which is the older and genuinely popular, while the second is the *Historia Scholastica*, with all its variations and translations.

A true light on this very interesting branch of universal literature is thrown on it by the older version, whose existence I am now endeavouring to prove, and which I am now going to examine independently of the other.

Before entering into this research, it is desirable to mention another work, the *Speculum* of Vincentius of Beauvais, that unparalleled encyclopædia, which comprised in one book all the different facts and ideas then current in the Christian world. In the fourth division of this *Miroir*, Vincentius passes in review and relates the history of man from Adam down to the resurrection and end of the world. Here are also inserted a number of legends and apocryphal narratives similar to the previous, and a century-older *Historia Scholastica*. This too served as a source for the following period.

The question as to the origin whence these are derived is also unsettled.

If we now compare the vernacular translations of the Bible as they have been preserved up to the present time, and if we include in this our inquiry not only the prosaic and literal, but also the versified and amplified translations extant in France and Germany, not to speak for the moment of the Italian, Slavonic, and other versions, and if we add to these the "Mysteries" based upon the versified Bible, we are inevitably compelled to affirm for a distinct part of them an undoubted independence from the *Historia Scholastica* as well as from the *Speculum*. And we must further acknowledge that they represent a different version, richer in legends and tales, less acquainted or blended with world-history and sophistical speculations, and distinctly at variance in the allegorical and spiritual explanations to those put forth in the above-mentioned works. In order to explain this hitherto unnoticed fact, we must go a step farther, and ask when and under what circumstances was the Bible itself translated into the vernacular?

There is no doubt that, curious as it may seem, with the exception of the Gothic translation by Ufilas, the Slavonic translation is the oldest extant in Europe. Above we have already traced a rough sketch of the literary activity of the two Slavonic

apostles, Cyril and Method, and laid stress upon the importance which their translation had for the development of the Slavonic literature, which clusters round it as its natural centre.

Almost contemporaneously with this translation, that is, as early as the ninth century, and as a consequence of it, there appears in the Slavonic language also a *Bible Historiale*, with all its peculiar characteristics, widely circulated, and of enormous influence upon the Church and profane literature.

The Apocrypha of the Old Testament mentioned and referred to in the course of these Lectures were mostly taken from this *Bible Historiale*, in which the Biblical history is interwoven with legends.

This Slavonic Bible has a peculiar value, because it is at least *two centuries* older than the corresponding work in the Western literature, and especially than the *Historia Scholastica*, and also because it is richer in tales and legends, which on close inquiry prove to be of a more primitive and original form.

The age of this Slavonic version can be fairly well traced, as we find reference to it in the earliest Russian chronicle of Nestor. We further find entire parts of the *Palæa* embedded in the Russian *Hronographi*, just as we find traces of Biblical legends in the analogous works in the German literature, which are world-histories, beginning with

the creation of the world, and containing the whole Biblical history, after which in these *Hronographi* follows the Byzantine, and with this, lastly, is connected the Russian or Slavonic history.

The Byzantine literature, with the chronicles of Malalas, Hamartolos, Syncellus, and others, and latter on Dorotheus of Monembasia, offered the material and the example for similar Slavonic works. They were, and this at an early period, translated; and the chronicle of Georgius Hamartolos (Slavonic *Greshnyi*) in especial forms the basis of the *Hronographi*. What is now an essential point is that the Biblical history therein contained is not drawn from the Holy Writ directly, but from the embellished Bible, the *Palæa*.

The references in these *Hronographi* help us also to establish the fact that from the two *forms* in which the *Palæa* now-a-days exists as a shorter one, and a more developed, the latter is the older form, while the shorter represents only an epitome of it. In the *Hronographi* the longer version is generally quoted, proving thus its greater antiquity. The difference between the two versions is by no means essential. The text is nearly always the same; they vary only in the number and extent of the legends inserted in the text. We shall meet later on with a similar fact in the German versified *Bible Historiale*, of which there are also two forms, a shorter and a longer, filled with legends.

So also in the Romance literatures. The Slavonic *Palæa* being all but absolutely unknown, I will endeavour to give here a brief sketch of its contents, in order to enable us to elucidate the relation in which it stands to the literature with which we are dealing. I hope, however, to have an early opportunity of publishing an exact translation of the legends and apocryphal tales contained therein, with the necessary commentary.

The *Palæa*, as has been said, is an embellished Bible; but it would be a mistake to consider it as a work of only an exegetical character, intending to explain the words of the text by legendary interpretation. Besides this, it has also a definite tendency; it is apologetic and polemic, as well as exegetic and homiletic.

The fundamental idea developed in the *Palæa* is that there is no event mentioned in the New Testament which has not been adumbrated and typified in the Old Testament. The New is only the fulfilment of the prophecies and prototypes of the Old; hence the truth of the former, and hence, on this theory, also the unavoidable acceptance of the New Testament by the followers of the Old Testament.

This is the polemic argument used in the *Palæa* against Jews, and in a less prominent way against Mohammedans, who are often addressed directly. We find expressions like the following scattered all over the book, as, for example: "Listen, O Jew! . . .

I ask thee, O Jew! . . . O ye sinful Jews! and ye unclean Besserman (Slavonic *Musulman*). . . . Behold the wonder and thank the Lord. . . . Open your ears . . . and lift up your eyes," and so forth.

This direct attack, and the typical parallelism between the hope of the Old and the fulfilment in the New Testament is a characteristic feature of the greatest value, which I point out here, as I shall have the opportunity later on to refer to it frequently.

The *Palæa* begins, as is natural, with the description of the six days of the creation, and lingers especially at the episode of the creation of the angels, being intimately connected with the fall of Satan. According to the *Palæa*, ten hosts of angels were created at the first day. The leader of the fourth group was Satanael, who rebelled against the authority of the Lord, and was therefore cast from heaven down into the depths of hell, together with all his mutinous followers.

This hierarchy of angels is one of the most important events of creation, and the *Palæa* accordingly deals with it at some length. We have therein the accurate and minute description of the angels' rank and dignities, also which elements of nature are ruled by special angels. So there are enumerated the angels of snow, rain, hail, &c., as they are to be found in the heavenly hierarchy of Dionysius Areopagita and its sources.

Abounding with particular incidents, and very amply elaborated, is the description of the magnified works created during each day, just as is the case in the so-called *Hexaëmera*, and in the commentaries on Genesis of the oldest fathers of the Church. Among other tales, they are full of legends of animals drawn from the *Physiologus*, and other similar productions.

A large space is further devoted to the creation of men, and the entire drama the centre of which is Adam. It deals with the life in Paradise, the tree of knowledge, the creation of Eve, the various experiences Adam and Eve go through till their ejection from Paradise; and the legendary story goes on till their death; telling us, at the same time, of the travelling of Seth to the gates of Paradise, and including, therefore, the famous Legend of the Cross.

This part may be considered as the real centre of this *Biblical History*, as we have very often to refer back to it, and as all the following events are only natural consequences of the first sin, and point to the last catastrophe—the crucifixion and redemption already foreshadowed at the commencement.

We have already given (pp. 36–38) the contents of this legend. Suffice it now to add, that in the Slavonic text the oldest and most complete form of it has been preserved, which, as we shall see, is

a consistent and constituent part of all the *Bible Historiales*. But whilst it is stunted in the West, losing many primitive elements, the Slavonic form by its greater completeness helps to explain it in a more satisfactory way.—The non-consideration of the latter prejudiced the otherwise valuable study of Mr. W. Meyer, as has been proved by Wesselofsky. The seeming incoherence and contradiction in the statement of the Legend of the Cross by Liutwin and Calderon, for instance, is made clear and comprehensible through the comparison with the Slavonic versions.

Following the account given by the Bible, we are told of the murder of Abel by means of a stone, the death of Cain, shot by Lamech, who is blind, and led by a child. We learn also all the other legends relative to the Biblical personages, and all the apocryphal stories connected with them. So also the wills of the twelve sons of Jacob, the life and adventures of Joseph, the prototype of Christ in every detail, his being sold, the temptation, &c. The life of Moses is also adorned with legends, out of which I select the episode relating to his youth. The daughter of Pharaoh brought home the child Moses to her father, who took him kindly to caress him, when Moses suddenly seized the crown, tore it from Pharaoh's head, and threw it down. The crown had an image of an idol as ornament. Pharaoh seeing this, remembered an

old prophecy warning him against a son of his slaves, who would at a time depose him from his throne. He therefore considered the deed of Moses as an ill-boding omen, and ordered him to be killed. But a councillor said, "It is not right to kill a child; but let us put him to a test. Two plates shall be brought in, one filled with precious stones, the other with fiery coals, and we will place them before the child. If he stretches out his hand for the precious stones, then the child is intelligent, knows what he does, and must die; but if he touches the coals, we will desist from killing him." The two plates were brought, and Moses grasped some of the coals, put them in his mouth, and burned his tongue. He was saved, but he remained a stammerer for his life.*

We now quickly pass over the rest, as the description of the ten plagues, the *Pascha* and its identity with the self-sacrifice of Christ, the manna and its wonderful properties, the death of Moses, and the very short sketch of the Judges till the advent of David. Some texts stop at the history of Saul; others extend the narrative as far as Solomon, including all the remarkable legends of which he is the centre.

These are the meagre outlines of the Slavonic *Palæa*, two-thirds of which at least deal with the contents of Genesis and Exodus, while the later

* Gaster, Lit. Pop., pp. 318–320.

portion is added only to form the link between Moses and Solomon, who occupies the rest of the book. Therefore the *Palæa* is often and rightly called the enlarged or interpreted Genesis.

The first question which now arises, and which I will proceed to answer, is, what is the origin of the *Palæa*, and which the sources whence it has drawn its materials? Is this book to be considered as a genuine production of a Slavonic author, who out of many books compiled this Bible with histories, or is the Slavonic literature indebted for it to another, whence it was only translated?

The name *Palæa* itself leaves no doubt that it is of foreign, specially Greek production, just as the other contemporaneous Slavonic literature is derived from the Greek. The *name Palæa* is the Greek *Παλλαια διαθηκη*, viz., the Old Testament, the last word having been dropped in the course of time.

The relationship in which the Slavonic translation stands to its Greek original is a matter somewhat difficult to decide, as no Greek text has yet been published, and there is, indeed, only *one* copy supposed to be in existence—a MS. in the library of Vienna.

The texts of the *Palæa*, in spite of their general unity, vary as to the extent of their contents, and we find in other contemporaries of the Slavonic literature and in the *Hronographi* legends which

no doubt formed part of the *Palæa*, and which are now missing entirely, or are found only in a fragmentary form. Some of the legends, as, for instance, that of the Cross, are further due to a remodelling by the Bulgarian heretical sects.

All these and similar considerations lead us to the conclusion that, *based* upon a Greek original, the *Palæa*, as a popular book, and a book of pronounced tendency, underwent in its Slavonic form a change during the centuries, which, however, did not alter it essentially. It became in part shortened, partly amplified by materials drawn from many sources, and developed according to special views and purposes, but all are of the same origin, namely, Byzantine, and *ultimately Oriental.*

The whole theological literature of Byzantium points clearly to the East as its cradle, and there we must look also for the origin of the *Bible Historiale.* Not a few of the allegorical interpretations meet us in the early literature of the fathers of the Church, especially such as Ephraem Syrus in his Homilies, and others. The East is also the acknowledged homestead of the Apocrypha—in one word, all the constituent elements of this literature are Oriental.

The works of Josephus, the most widely spread book in ancient times as well as in the Middle

Ages, contain many legends which passed later on into the ecclesiastical literature, as nearly all the writers of the Occident made large use of its contents.

Not in these incidental references nor in these scattered legends do we see, however, the immediate original of the *Bible Historiale*, but in entirely similar books existent in the Jewish literature. The connection between these later and the *Bible Historiale* has been totally overlooked, because the link was missing which united them with the Western literature.

I see the most ancient instance of an enlarged history of the principal events of the Bible in the book called the *Book of the Jubilees*, or rather the *Book of Adam*, which dates from at least as early a period as one century before Christ.

This book contains the Biblical history from the creation till the institution of the *Pascha* (Passover), clothed in the form of a revelation made to Moses during his stay on Mount Sinai. Here we meet for the first time compiled in the form of a *book* nearly all the minor legends of the *Palæa*. We are at the beginning of the poetical and legendary activity, which much later, and through various influences, into which I need not now enter, developed itself and produced the greater legends.

So we find here those relating to Cain and Lamech, to Noah, Abraham, and his children, &c. Here, also,

we find the minute description of the creation of the angels, and of the elements over which they preside; further, of the number of works accomplished in the six days of the creation, and so on.

A characteristic feature of this book is that it gives the names of the women of the Biblical narrations. From this treatise they enter into all the other compilations of later times, and especially into the *Bible Historiale*, and into the so-called *Prophecies of Pseudo-Methodius.*

The whole matter is chronologically arranged, and the time is equally divided into jubilees, each of forty-nine years, hence the name of the book. But the book is more renowned under the name of *Leptogenesis*, that is, *Parva Genesis*—the smaller Genesis. No doubt the meaning thereof is *smaller* in authority, as its size is greater than that of the real Genesis. It has been also termed the *Book of Adam*, as the part he plays is the most prominent.*

The legendary matter included in the "Book of the Jubilees" can be shown, then, in a Palestinian Commentary of the Pentateuch extant in two texts, one complete and the other fragmentary. Being

* By the way I may here mention that many other books of the same legendary character exist in the Jewish literature, from which one is called the *greater*, the other the *smaller*, the cause of this not being very clear. So we have also a *Magna Genesis* (*Bereshith Rabba*), perhaps in opposition to the above *Parva Genesis;* so, further, *Seder Olam Rabba* and *Seder Olam Zutta; Eliah Rabba* and *Eliah Zutta; Pesikta Rabba* and *Pesikta Zuttarta*, &c.

connected with the Hebrew text, this commentary has a loose form, and not the compact arrangement of an independent book. Its value lies in the fact that by means of it we can pursue step by step the growth of the legend, this commentary not being at any rate later than the fifth century.

To the seventh century, again, is ascribed another work, this time again a *book*, which has never been considered in this connection—I mean the *Pirke de R. Eliezer*, or the book called the *Chapters of R. Eliezer*, which bears this title because it is divided into fifty-four chapters, and the authorship is falsely ascribed to R. Eliezer, who lived in the first century (A.C.)

But if we look nearer, we see that it is unfortunately a fragment of a larger book purporting to be a kind of legendary development of the Pentateuch (or rather only of Genesis and Exodus), similar to the "Book of the Jubilees," with which it has in common calendarial calculations, and the division of the matter in accordance with a special view.

Out of these fifty-four chapters not less than *forty* treat of the events contained in the book of Genesis; namely, *nine* are devoted to the description of the creation, *ten* to Adam, *two* to his descendants till Noah, and so forth. The order of the last chapters has been transposed, the book is suddenly interrupted, and remains without a real end.

The contents are nearly all of a legendary character, akin to that of the afore-mentioned book.

A striking resemblance to the Slavonic *Palæa* is further afforded by the last book of Jewish origin which I have occasion to mention—the *Sepher Hayashar*. The major portion of this book deals with Genesis and Exodus, the other three books of Moses, together with Joshua and the Judges, being dealt with in two to three pages out of nearly 150.

Many of the principal legends of the *Palæa* have here, I may say, their immediate source. Parts correspond word for word with each other, as, for example, the legend of Lamech, the above-quoted legend of Moses, of his wonderful rod, originating from Paradise, which becomes afterwards in Christian transformation the tree of the cross, and others we shall meet with in the course of this investigation.

Out of this *Sepher Hayashar*, together with the *Book of the Jubilees*, arose the Greek *Bible Historiale*, the original for the *Palæa*. That explains also the curious disappearance at a certain period from the Byzantine literature of the "Book of the Jubilees," which till that time was very well known, and quoted by nearly every Byzantine chronicler. As has been shown by Fabricius, and now by Rönsch, the "Book of the Jubilees" was known to the fathers of the Church as early as the fourth cen-

tury; and down to the sixth century they, as well as the Byzantine writers, cite large passages from it; while from that time no trace of that book is left. *It had been absorbed by the Bible Historiale.*

That the *Sepher Hayashar*, or a very similar book, contributed to the formation of that work, there cannot be any doubt, seeing the literal agreement between the two books on one side, and, on the other, that there is no other source known for many legends of the *Palæa* and of the Western *Bible Historiale* than the *Sepher Hayashar.*

In order to become the *Palæa*, this compilation had to be adjusted to the Christian and ecclesiastical point of view. The whole matter had to be recast in a new mould, symbolical and allegorical explanations had to be added, and the work from a book of amusement changed into a book of polemical tendency.

Amongst other new elements, we can easily detect some derived from the literary activity of the Bogomils, who, like all heretical sects, eagerly adopted old legends in order to turn them, by slight changes and interpolations, into means of diffusion of their teachings. Nothing pleases the people more than allegories and parables. Therefore the *Palæa* very soon became a popular book, and exercised the deepest influence upon popular fancy and its outcome, popular literature.

To this heretical influence is due the introduction

of *Satanael*, the chief character of this dualistic heresy, and the *rôle* played by him as the patron of the earth; and especially the Legend of the Cross, which, as we know (p. 35), is directly attributed to Popa Jeremiah, the founder of Bogomilism, who is expressly mentioned as its author. Many incidents in its contents confirm the heretical origin of this legend in its present form.

This is a point upon which I lay the greatest stress, as the Legend of the Cross forms an essential part in all the different versions of the *Bible Historiale*. There is not one in the group we are studying from which this legend is missing, while the Comestor group is denuded of it.

It is one of the numerous links uniting the Eastern with the Western *Bible Historiale* to which we now pass.

In the West, France was the cradle of the study of the Bible and of its translation into the vernacular. As will be seen hereafter, traces of this translation can be followed out as early as the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh. The oldest translations seem to be lost, and also the translations of a *Bible Historiale*. They were no doubt supplanted by the translations of Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*. But we can reconstruct the contents of that old *Bible Historiale* by many means. First of all, through the versified Bibles, some of them dating from the twelfth

century (*c.* 1140); then through the *Mystères du Viel Testament*, based upon such a *Bible Historiale*. Besides this we have some modern copies, all of them representing an amplified text, corresponding to the amplified text of the *Palæa*. There is, finally, also an abridged form preserved in the Catalan, Bearnais, and Provençal dialect, discovered only in the last ten to fifteen years, and known to students under the most inappropriate name of *Romanische Weltchronik*. This is also nothing else than the *Bible Historiale* in a form resembling that of the short text of the *Palæa*.

I will now try to summarise briefly the contents of each of these works, as far as their particulars bear resemblance to those of the *Palæa* or *Sepher Hayashar*, and are independent of Comestor, thus proving their identity of origin with the former.

We start with the versified Bibles, following closely the meagre extracts given by Bonnard,* who, however, pursued another purpose in his *précis*, and is anything but satisfactory as regards his account of the contents of the texts he dealt with. A comparison with the texts themselves will furnish, I am sure, more incidents confirming the views now expounded, and perhaps some other investigator may be induced to follow out more closely what I only briefly indicate here.

* Bonnard, Traductions de la Bible en Français . . . au Moyen Age, Paris, 1884.

The first to be mentioned is *Herman de Valenciennes* (*c.* 1140), whose versified Bible extends to the history of Solomon. He cannot be thought dependent from Comestor, as he is much older than the latter, who lived *cir.* 1175. The history of the Bible is adorned by legends, amongst them the legend of Moses, different from the version of Comestor, and corresponding to that quoted above from the *Palæa.* Two plates are brought to the child, one with precious stones and the other filled with coals, and not only *one*, as is said by Comestor.* The *two plates* we find also in all other versified Bibles and in the *Romance Chronicle.*

Peculiar to these Bibles is the division of the world into *seven* periods, after which the end of the world shall come. At the end of some periods Herman sums up the principal events, interrupting in an abrupt way the course of the narration. Exactly the same is the case in the *Romance Chronicle.* Bonnard says (p. 26): "Par deux fois Herman fait des principaux évenements de la Bible une rapide recapitulation qui ne se lie à rien et qui coupe brusquement le récit."

This division of the history is a faint echo of the old divisions in the Oriental prototypes of the *Bible Historiale,* and the number *seven* is chosen in accordance with the seven days of the creation, alluded to already by Barnabas (cap. xii. v. 4):

* Bonnard, p. 16.

"Consider, my children, what that signifies, He finished them in six days. The meaning of it is this—that in six thousand years the Lord God will bring all things to an end." We find it further said by Augustinus*—and what is more important in this connection, in the apocryphal book of the Bogomils, attributed to St. Johannes (mentioned above, p. 64), where it is also expressly stated—that the power of Satan will last for seven days, that is, seven periods.† Other ecclesiastical writers, such as Bede, St. Isidorus, &c., adopted the same division, current in the Middle Ages.

I mention this at some length, because, as we shall see, it served as a proof for the supposed dependence of the *Romance Chronicle* upon Isidorus.

The legend of the Cross originating from Paradise is also contained in the versified Bible, and other particulars of minor importance.

Decidedly independent of Comestor is also the next author, *Geffroi de Paris.* He is identical with Herman "pour les légendes introduites dans le texte sacré."‡

Macé de la Charité, author of another versified Bible, borrowed his numerous glosses also from another source than Comestor. Bonnard says explicitly (pp. 72, 73): "It is certain that the abundant glosses used by Macé to adorn his narrative are not derived from P. Comestor's *Historia Scholastica.*"

* End of *De Civitate Dei.* † *Thilo*, i. p. 890. ‡ Bonnard, p. 43.

The foreign source can be much more clearly proved for *Evrat's* versified Genesis. (He lived *c.* 1198.) He cites Josephus, Bede, and Hieronymus, but surely only at secondhand. Comestor is never mentioned, and what he quotes from the *maître*—this is the title for Comestor in writings of later period—is not to be found in the *Historia Scholastica.**

On the contrary, from the brief extracts given by Bonnard, we can recognise the identity with the *Bible Historiale*, and the author divides the history also into periods. We find the death of Cain caused by Lamech. Continual reference is made to parallel passages in the history of the New Testament, with the same allegorical and symbolical explanations; so in the lives of Jacob and Rachel; so is Joseph sold for *thirty deniers*, although the Bible clearly speaks of only *twenty* pieces of silver. This change, made with the purpose of finding a parallelism between Joseph and Christ, occurs already in chapter ii. of the apocryphal Testament of *Gad*, the son of Jacob.† So also in the Roumanian "*Hronograf*," cap. xi. The comparison between Joseph and Christ is a favourite topic of the old writers of homilies, such as Ephraem Syrus and others.

Treating the blessing of Jacob, when Evrat comes to Dan, where it is said, "Dan shall be a serpent

* Bonnard, p. 111.

† Fabricius, Vet. Test., i. p. 677; *cf.* ii. p. 79. The Slavonic translation, Tihonravov, i. p. 207.

in the way, an adder in the path," he gives at full length the legend of *Antichrist.*

The explanation of Dan's blessing as pointing to Antichrist is likewise given in the *Palæa*, and in more ancient sources, such as Hippolytus and St. Theodoret of Cyprus (457). *

This is the more characteristic, as Evrat also denounces very strongly the clergy and the bishops, who are arrogant, and despise "le pauvre monde." The attack on the clergy and the advocacy of "the poor men," in combination with the legend of *Antichrist*, cannot be a mere incident. It is well known that this formed the most important book of the "Poor Men," the "Pauvres de Lyon," or the Poor Valdenses. The Antichrist is represented here by the Pope, residing in Rome-Babylon.

Add to this the fact that Evrat lived in the Champagne, and so we may presume that he himself belonged to the "Society of the Poor," which hypothesis will be confirmed when I shall establish the origin of the *Bible Historiale* in France.

Another point worthy of consideration is the inversion in the order of the creation. According to Evrat, the animals are said to be created on the fifth day, although the Bible fixes their creation on the sixth day. This is also no accident, as, curiously enough, the order of the creation in the *Mystère du Viel Testament* differs widely from the authorised

* Upenski, Tolkovaya Paleya, Kazan, 1876, pp. 87-88.

version. According to the *Mystère*, there were created on the first day the four elements and the angels; on the second, the water was separated from the earth, and fishes and trees were created; on the third, the sun and the moon; on the fourth the stars; on the fifth, *the birds and animals* (just as in Evrat), and the Paradise; on the sixth, man.* A similar transposition of the creation we meet also in the Slavonic version (*vide* above, p. 28).

In the same way the other translations and texts of versified Bibles furnish support for the existence of a *Bible Historiale* earlier than and independent of the *Historia Scholastica*, and even more widely spread and better known than the latter, as it formed the basis for the versifications of the Bible.

One single legend I will further mention here, as Bonnard cites it as an example of the invention of the poet, whilst it is in fact an Oriental legend, and not at all due to the inventive power of the author.

In an anonymous versified Bible it is said that the father of the daughters of Zelophehad† is identical with the man who, being found gathering sticks upon a Sabbath-day, was stoned by the congregation.‡ This identification is many centuries

* J. de Rothschild, Le Mistére du Viel Testament, Paris, 1878, i. p. xl.
† Numbers xxvii. 1 ff. ‡ Numbers xv. 32 ff.

older than the versification, being already mentioned in the Talmud.*

The instances cited are scanty, as I could not here enter into details, and as the work of Bonnard gives only small extracts. The book of Berger was not accessible to me.

Much richer is the harvest we can gather from the *Mystère,* which lies printed before us in the handy edition of Baron J. de Rothschild.

In this dramatised Bible, as we may term it, we find again all the legends hitherto quoted in the course of this volume. To these are also joined many others, about which the editor says nothing, but that "there are in these *Mystères* . . . allusions to Jewish legends not mentioned by Nicolas de Lyra, and we do not know by what means they came to be known by Christian writers" (i. p. x.): "Il y a dans notre mystère . . . diverses allusions à des legendes juives dont Nicolas de Lyre n'a pas parlé, et nous ignorons par quelle voie elles ont été connues des auteurs chrétiens."

The story of the creation, to begin with, is, as we know, at variance with the Biblical. After it follows the fall of Satan, the sin of Adam, and the expulsion from Paradise. Here is inserted the *Procès du Paradis* (*v.* 1295–1882), which has no foundation whatsoever in the Bible. When God

* Sabbath, fol. 96^{b}, Sifri, ed. Friedmann, fol. 33^{b}, § 113; Talmud, Jerush. Synhedrin, i. c. 5; Jalkut, i. §§ 743–750, fol. 228$^{a.b}$.

is about to condemn mankind, a dispute arises between Justitia and Misericordia. Justitia asks for severe punishment, whilst Mercy pleads the cause of man, pointing out his weakness. The Lord then decides in favour of Mercy, and promises the salvation through His own Son.

The prototype for this heavenly drama is, as shown by the editor in the *Sepher Hayashar*, to be found also in the much older *Genesis Rabba*,* whence it has been borrowed; but what he failed to remark, and what we have already noticed here, is the identical legend in the German *Historien Bibel*. The dispute in this version is before the creation, more like the Jewish form, but the rest approaches the French, thus forming a link between these two offshoots of the old *Bible Historiale*.

We pass over smaller details; suffice it to say, that we also find here the legend of the Cross mentioned at the death of Adam, just as in the *Palæa*. Cain marries his sister Calmana, Abel Delbora, as it is told in the "Book of Jubilees." No doubt from the same source are also the names of Noah's wife and of his sons' wives, although they are not similar to the names given to them in the "Book of Jubilees." Still we must not think that this latter served as a direct source, or that it was even known to the author of the *Mystères*. The names are rather due to the prophecies of Pseudo-

* Sect. 8.

Methodius, referred to above, which were also well known and widely spread in the old Slavonic literature.

In the *Mystère* Cain also dies, shot by Lamech; Nimrod builds the Tower of Babel; Ninus appears here together with Nimrod, as in the *Palæa* and *Hronograf*. The death of Haran, Abraham's brother, is related as in the *Sepher Hayashar*. Haran is thrown into the furnace and burnt to death. The life of Joseph typifies that of Christ, as in *Evrat*, the *Palæa*, and other Oriental writers. Joseph's encounter with Potiphar's wife happens on the occasion of a festival given by Pharaoh; that is why Potiphar and all the servants are absent from the house. This is likewise to be found in the above-named books. From the same source is derived Joseph's prayer, which is shortly referred to in the *Palæa*. Further, in the Moses episode with the crown he tramples upon it, and so on many parables occur till the end of the *Mystère*, which, like the *Palæa*, concludes with Solomon, and contains a tale existing, as I have proved, only in the *Palæa* in the older literature.

This short sketch of the contents clearly proves that the *Mystère* is independent of the *Historia Scholastica*, and has many a part in common with the *Palæa*, thus pointing necessarily to another *Bible Historiale* as its foundation, the same which is the basis for the *Versifications*. And really such

a *Bible Historiale* seems to be preserved, but only in a copy of the fifteenth century. M. Rothschild tells us that there is in the National Library in Paris a manuscript containing almost every legendary or holy episode which has been brought on the stage as a mystery ("à peu près sans exception les épisodes sacrées ou légendaires, qui ont été transportées sur la scène,"—i. p. xi.) This manuscript has the title *Le Viel Testament lequel traicte les Histoires de la Bible, que aucuns appellent les Histoires des Hebrieux ou des Juifes*—that is, "the Old Testament which treats the histories of the Bible, called by some the histories of the Hebrews or of the Jews." This is just the title of the *Mystère*, also called *Viel Testament*, and likewise the name of the *Palæa*, the *Old Testament*, with the addition "of the Jews," and also like the title of the French manuscript—*Paläa na Judie: Palaea Secundum Judaeos.**

The French manuscript, being modern, has certainly passed through purifying hands, which eliminated as far as they could the apocryphal or other not very orthodox parts. Not so was the older text upon which the *Mystère* is directly based, differing from the former in this point. The editor says: "The differences (between the *Mystère* and the manuscript) prove sufficiently that the authors

* To the *Books of the Jews* is also made reference in the Romance Chronicle. *Vide* Lespy, i. p. 19.

of the *Mystère* did not have in their hands the same version as our manuscript contains, but an older and simpler version, which did not distinguish the orthodox and the apocryphal books. This text, which may perhaps be found some day, has furnished them with the mystical comparisons between the Bible and the New Testament, in which really consisted the exegesis of the Middle Ages" (i. pp. xi., xii.)

In a few bold lines we find thus here sketched the principal features of the *Palæa*, viz., the blending together of apocryphal with canonical books, and the allegorical and mystical exegesis characteristic of the Middle Ages.

Besides the complete or ample texts, we have also an abridged *Bible Historiale* in three Romance dialects, of which two only are translations of the third, viz., a Provençal, Bearnesian, and Catalan *Bible Historiale.*

Of these, only the last two have been published, while the Provençal is still unpublished. The Catalan has been minutely studied by Rhode,* who came to somewhat curious conclusions with regard to it. The fact that mediæval historiography begins with the Biblical narrative and joins to it later developments, had as a result that the *Palæa* was incorporated into the Russian chronicles, and that almost all mediæval chronicles

* In Suchier Denkmæler der provenzalischen Literatur u. Sprache, Halle, 1883, i. p. 589 ff.

begin their history of the world with the Bible. This misled Mr. Rhode, who took this short *Bible Historiale* for a chronicle, although it stops at Solomon, like all *Bible Historiales* we have heretofore noticed. The result to which Mr. Rhode comes may be shortly summarised as follows :—

The Romance original, from which this is a translation, belongs to the thirteenth century, and is compiled, or, better, pieced together, from six different sources, viz., (*a*) the *Vulgata* (resp. Comestor); (*b*) Apocrypha in the widest sense; (*c*) *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodinensis; (*d*) six great legends; (*e*) the *Chronicon* of Isidorus Hispalense; and (*f*) an unknown source.

Let us now see how far each of these sources has contributed to our compilation, and in what way. According to Mr. Rhode, the division of the history into distinct epochs is due to Isidorus's Chronicon; but the comparison proves it to be so insufficient, that Rhode himself is compelled to acknowledge that it is only in the general outline, namely, the division into periods. This similarity is absolutely irrelevant and merely accidental, because we find precisely the same division in all other French *Bible Historiales*, as I have shown above (p. 167).

The comparison in the contents between this Romance Chronicle and the *Elucidarium* shows even more discrepancy. Out of the sixty-seven

columns the latter occupies in the edition of Migne, vol. clxxii., only a few traits are alike, and then we must assume that the author of the Romance Chronicle had selected them out without any visible order, a portion from here and a portion from there, never following the sequence of the *Elucidarium*. The apparent likeness comes therefore from the common source from which they have both been drawn.

What Mr. Rhode did further not succeed in showing is the source of the Apocrypha and of the six legends embodied in this supposed chronicle. He admits them simply as sources, without telling us how they penetrated to the South of France as early as the thirteenth century. The six legends are the following. The Legend of the Cross, which is very well known to us as an essential part of the *Bible Historiale*, and we need not look for Viterbo and *Beleth*, to which Mr. Rhode refers (pp. 625–626), as being similar to the form of the Chronicle. The *Denar* legend, connected with Terah, Abraham's father, has its source in the Orient, and occurs in an Oriental writer,—a fact which was not noticed by Rhode;* and Evrat already points to the thirty silverlings when he mentions that Joseph was also sold for thirty silverlings. The further legends of Judas, Veronica, and Constantine occur very often in Slavonic literature and at an early period, so that they might also have crept into the *Bible Historiale*.

* Fabricius, Vet. Test., ii. pp. 79–81.

This view is further confirmed when we try to ascertain the *unknown source*. Two legends are taken from this, viz., a legend of Abraham, according to which Abraham destroys the idols of his father, and places the axe in the hands of the supreme idol, left undestroyed, in order to say that, for the sake of his gluttony, he killed the others, to save all the dishes for himself alone. The *source*, which was *unknown* to Mr. Rhode, is the *Sepher Hayashar*, so often quoted, and to the same source belongs also the other legend of Moses, in the well-known form, as by Herman de Valenciennes, *Palæa*, &c.

Considered as a chronicle, this book has the aspect of a mosaic pieced together in so curious a manner, that often two consecutive lines are taken from two different sources; while considered, as I regard it, as a *Bible Historiale*, all is of one piece, of one and the same source, and corresponds entirely to other compilations belonging to the same class of works.

For in an abridged manner we find here again the principal characteristics, such as Bible history interwoven with Apocryphal tales, the mystical exegesis, and the New Testament predicted in the Old, the legend of the Cross, the chronological recapitulations, as in Herman, and also one peculiar point misunderstood hitherto. In this short *Bible Historiale*, as well as in some of the versified

Bibles, we find not unfrequently the exhortation: "Hearken! listen! see!" and other similar passages. From this the editors and Mr. Rhode presumed that the book was read in churches and schools, and hence the exhortation. But if we bear in mind that the contents is not at all orthodox, and that the Bible in vernacular was never read in Catholic churches, this explanation is at least a defective one. Quite otherwise is the meaning when we compare these phrases with the same exhortations so frequent in the *Palæa*, to which I drew attention when describing it. It is a polemical work in the Slavonic language, and addresses itself to the Jew or other unbeliever. In the Romance Chronicle we have the faint echo of it. Hence the otherwise incomprehensible address.

Before now passing on to Italy, I will briefly notice also the *Noble Leyczon* of the Waldenses, consisting of a kind of short Bible history, with expressed tendency. To each deed or command in the Old Testament is opposed a similar passage of the New Testament, which proves, according to their views, the progress and superiority of the latter.

Our knowledge of the Italian literature is scanty. It begins with Dante, who, as I have said, was well acquainted with the "Legend of the Cross" and other Apocryphal writings. A noteworthy fact is, further, that in Northern Italy arose the standard

book of legends, the *Legenda Aurea*, compiled out of many spurious sources by Jacobus a Voragine.

A *Bible Historiale* can be proved to have existed also in Italian, although of a relatively late period. At the Council of Trent (1545–63), a book bearing the title *Fioretti . . . di tutta la Biblia . . .* was condemned as full of heretical legends. Rönsch mentions also a second book like to it, called *El Fiore di tutta la Biblia Historiato.* I regret that I have not been able to see either of them; they are wanting even in the British Museum. But as far as I can ascertain from Fabricius,* Rönsch,† and some quotations of Wesselofsky,‡ these are likely to be nothing else than Italian *Bible Historiales*, with the same or similar Apocryphal contents. Rönsch describes it as follows: "*Both* (viz., *Fioretti* and *El Fiore*) are in the main part identical; entire chapters, especially those at the beginning, being analogous. The matter is in both the same, only slightly changed in the latter, and the number of chapters is different. The first has 137 (short) chapters, and the second 156. As far as could be ascertained at a fleeting glance, the matter was not derived directly from the 'Book of the Jubilees,' but from other books like Pseudo-Methodius; and from our comparison with regard to the legends of Adam, they seem to be in nearer

* Vet. Test., ii. 122; *cf.* i. 864.

† Das Buch der Jubilæen, Leipzig, 1874, p. 469.

‡ Razyskaniya, x. p. 377, No. 4.

relation to the *Gadela Adam* (*Vita Adami*), translated from the Ethiopic, than to the 'Book of the Jubilees.'"

To this description we add that given by Fabricius, who says that it contains the history from the creation down to the time of Christ. It is full of absurd legends, and those relative to Christ are very much akin to the Apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy.

In the life of Adam there is also a reference to the "Legend of the Cross," according to the quotation of Wesselofsky.

Thus we have here the principal elements constituting the *Bible Historiale*, the legendary history similar to the "Book of the Jubilees," though only through the mediation of Pseudo-Methodius, just as in the *Mystère*, &c., legends of the Biblical personages, Adam, and the Cross, and the apocryphal Infancy tales, occurring also in some of the versified French *Bible Historiales*. We may now fairly admit the existence of a *Bible Historiale* in Italy, independent of the *Historia Scholastica*, and nearer to the *Palæa*. Here also I must leave to others the fuller inquiry.

It remains now to pursue the *Bible Historiale* in the German literature also. More than forty manuscripts were studied by Merzdorf,* the editor

* T. Merzdorf, Historienbibel, vol. c. and ci. of Literarischer Verein, Stuttgard.

of the German *Historien Bibel*, and yet the material is far from being exhausted. This proves the great favour that book enjoyed in Germany, and consequently the great influence it exercised. More than one literary point, however, is left unsettled. In his valuable introduction, Merzdorf classifies the different extant versions, and comes to the conclusion that there are two distinct classes of *Bible Historiales* falsely united under the same title. One is entirely dependent on the *Historia Scholastica* of Comestor, and the other is more or less a prose transcription of Rudolf von Ems's Chronicle. It is now established * that the *Historia Scholastica* was early translated into French (*c.* 1286 or 1289) by a certain Guiars de Moulin, canon of St. Peter's in Aire (Aëria), near the frontier of Flanders, and upon this version the later French *Bible Historiale* is based. This was also translated and widely circulated in Germany, and forms Group I., edited by Merzdorf as the real *Historien Bibel.* As such, we have nothing to do with it.

Besides this, Group II. is subdivided by Merzdorf into two branches (*a*) and (*b*), the first corresponding entirely to the Chronicle of Rudolf, the other, less complete, but more amplified, belonging, as he asserts, to a later development of that chronicle, due to another anonymous author.

* Reusz, in Herzog, Real Encyclopædie, xiii. p. 30 ff. *s. v.* Romanische Bibelübersetzung.

We will deal shortly with II*a*. It is not my purpose to enter now into the vexed question as to the priority of the versified to the prosaical form, in so far as it regards mediæval literature. I, for my own part, strongly believe that every artificial poem is based upon a prose original and not *vice versâ;* and thus this falsely termed chronicle is only the Bible history from the creation to the time of Solomon, exactly like the *Palœa*, the work of Herman of Valenciennes, &c.; and is no doubt based upon a prose original. Hence the apparent identity of the present prose version II*a*. with the poem, which is explained as a transcription of that metrical form. It may be that this latter exercised some influence upon the present text, but the comparison with the other literatures shows that we may assume a prose original for the poem of Rudolf of Ems.

It is a remarkable fact that almost all the productions of this poet are more or less based upon foreign or Oriental themes; it is so with "Barlaam and Josaphat," the Oriental tale of Buddha, and with the "War of Troy," for the first time treated in French by Benoît de St. Maur, but before unknown in the West; and, finally, with the "Good Gerhard of Kôln," the Oriental origin of which I proved some years ago. It is therefore not unjustifiable to presume also a foreign and prose original for his chronicle also.

Unfortunately the poem is not printed, and we

are reduced to draw our information from the pamphlet published in 1839 by Vilmar, who was the first to devote a special inquiry to the subject. The conclusion he arrived at was, that Rudolf is dependent upon Comestor, but only in a remote way, and he may have also made use of the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo and Solinus' *Polyhistor* (Vilmar, p. 13). That is to say, that the Chronicle of Rudolf bears some resemblance to the above-mentioned, without being a *verbal* copy of them, as is the case with the Bible history of Group I.; thus the chronicle has the same characteristic features as the French and Romance *Bible Historiales* which we have previously studied, and might rightly also be termed *Bible Historiale.* Moreover, it cannot be assumed, as some might be induced to think, that Rudolf borrowed from the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincentius of Beauvais, as his chronicle was finished *c.* 1251, whilst the latter composed his *Speculum* after 1254.

The same mistake which induced Rhode to call the *Romance Bible Historiale* "Chronicle" induced the German writers to give the same name to the poem of Rudolf, which does not extend farther than to the time of Solomon, in a manner identical with that of all the other *Bible Historiales* and the *Palæa.* But, like the literary development of Byzantium, where Malalas or Hamartolos or other chroniclers incorporated the history of the Biblical

period into their chronicle, joining the later world history to the end of the Biblical, so it happened in Germany and Russia also, where the chronicles began with the *Palæa* resp., with its German counterpart, the versified Bible of Rudolf of Ems. Hence the misleading name, which I hope will soon be dispensed with.

Richer in details, and better known by some extracts, is version II*b*., which is also considered as a transliteration of a poem into a prose composition based upon a development of Rudolf's Bible, due to an anonymous author. This more amplified version is called the *Christ Herre* version, after the beginning words, whilst Rudolf's is distinguished as the *Richter Gott* version, after the two initial words. According to Vilmar, this II*b*. is nothing else than a literal translation of Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* and the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo.

But if we are to believe the assertion of Merzdorf, that II*b*. represents exactly that unpublished poem, then matters stand quite otherwise. Among the manuscripts of II*b*. there are some true *Bible Historiales*. To these belongs also a MS., once in possession of a certain Mr. Schröder, who gives the following description of it. "The MS. is a copy from *c*. 1430–50, whose author might have lived in the thirteenth century (that is, contemporaneously with Rudolf!). It contains an abstract of the Biblical history down to the Maccabeans, without

the Prophets and Psalms. The text is not couched after the *Vulgata*, but is probably taken from an older German codex." *

What especially strikes us here is, that the text of the Bible is not translated from the Vulgate, but that it is due to some other source—the author presumes a German version without any proof. It is not necessary to add that this Bible history is full of legends, apocryphal and otherwise.

A similar manuscript of the fifteenth century, with illustrations, is noted by Von der Hagen, who published the complaint of Adam after his expulsion from Paradise in a wording like to the legend of Adam in the *Palæa*, &c., and a parallel to it from the above manuscript.

Mr. Merzdorf, who numbered this manuscript, and also arranged it amongst those of II*b*., unfortunately considered the legendary parts to be irrelevant, and omitted them entirely, being satisfied only with a few remarks. He did not pay any great attention to this smaller group generally, as it was of secondary importance to him, although a better inquiry would have disclosed to him the real value of this version.

There still remains a third manuscript belonging to the same group, once in possession of a certain J. D. Müller, afterwards in that of the Pastor Goetze, famous through his controversies with Les-

* Merzdorf, pp. 34-35.

sing, and at present in the municipal library of Hamburg. Out of this manuscript, also from the fifteenth century (*c.* 1458), Müller gave some extracts of the creation reproduced by Fabricius,* enabling us thus to recognise the relationship between these manuscripts and the *Bible Historiale.*

The history begins with the dispute between Mercy and Justice, as in the French *Mystery.* The mystical parallelism between the Old and New Testament is consistently pursued throughout the history. Very detailed is the description of the angels who fell, during three days and three nights, from heaven into hell. The rank and order of the angels is explicitly stated. The description of how the world and Adam were created follows, and it is said that Adam fell into a deep slumber, wherein he saw prophetical visions telling him of the future redemption. During this time Eve was created, not by God Himself, but by an angel. Here the author mentions the Jewish legend that Adam had had another wife, created, like him, out of loam and outside Paradise, while Eve was created from his rib in Paradise. The legend referred to is well known in Jewish literature, and appears in the *Alfabetum Pseudo-Siracidicum* (*cir.* eighth century).†

The *Bible Historiale* goes on to say that the

* Vet. Test., i. 36–47.

† Ed. Steinschneider, Berlin, 1858, f. 23*a*.

serpent which deceived Eve was Lucifer, and the serpent walked upright and had a woman's head. After the sin Adam and Eve repented of it by a severe penitence in the waters of Gihon. This episode corresponds exactly with the version published by Von der Hagen. We are told also that Cain was born together with his sister Calmana, and Abel with Delbora, whom he marries afterwards, just as in the Mystery and Pseudo-Methodius.

Amply developed are the death of Adam and the legend of the Cross, intimately connected with it. Seth goes to the gates of Paradise to bring food for his sick father. The angel Michael appears, and tells him that 5200 years must elapse before the sin of Adam will be atoned, and then God's Son will come with the oil of mercy. Seven days after Adam dies, and also Eve; all as in the similar legend in the *Palæa, Mystère,* &c., drawn from the same apocryphal source.

The extract given by Fabricius stops here, but it suffices to show that we have before us a work quite analogous to the *Bible Historiale* described above.

Naturally the more modern a copy is the more probable it is that it was influenced by other similar works, as, for instance, the *Historia Scholastica.* But, nevertheless, all the characteristic features have been preserved, and point to another independent and certainly older source.

One point (which we reserved for the last) in the

description of this German *Bible Historiale* is of the highest importance, as it will enable us to find the connecting link between this and the Slavonic version, viz., "When God was going to create heaven and earth, He *created first the angel Sataël*, and afterwards the other angels." This *Sataël* is nobody else than the *Satanael* of the *Palæa*, occurring only in Bogomilian writings, and due solely to their heretical influence. In perfect harmony with this is also the presumption that *Satanael* was the first being created, the most powerful, and superior to the other angels, whence his arrogance and fall.

Curiously enough, *Satanael* is also mentioned in the *Historia Scholastica* of Comestor, where he is identified with Lucifer, but falsely explained as *Satan : adversary—El : to God* (sic dictus est ante lapsum, vel forte post lapsum, *Satan*, quasi *adversarius*, *El : Deo* (Glosse to Genesis, c. iv.) This brings us to the question as to the origin of the *Bible Historiale* in France, and also to the other question, whence did Comestor draw the materials for his *Historia Scholastica*, especially that which regards the Biblical legends? I cannot enter here into this difficult question in any detailed manner.

As sources, Comestor himself mentions, among others, Methodius and Josephus. The former is, as I have proved, a compilation of the "Book of the Jubilees;" and as to Josephus, it is remarkable that many a legend professedly taken from his

works is not to be found in them ; so, for instance, the story of Potiphar is nowhere to be found in Josephus, although contained in the *Jerusalem Targum* (Genesis xxxix. 1) and in the *Talmud.** Then the story of Moses's two marvellous rings, and that Cain married his sister Calmana, said to be taken from Josephus, is really from Methodius, and so forth.

On the other hand, a comparison with the old French versified Bibles, and even the German, shows, notwithstanding great discrepancies, a similarity which cannot be denied, and which can only be explained by admitting a common source. It ought not to be forgotten that these latter also very often refer to Josephus and Hieronymus, although they certainly never made direct use of their works. Noteworthy is the same fact in the *Palæa*, where Josephus is also avowedly quoted, and here, also, surely through the mediation of some other work.

The source for the Western *Bible Historiale*, and in some way for the *Historia Scholastica*, is therefore to be sought in the Greeko-Slavonic *Palæa*, brought by currents, we shall soon learn, from the East into France and Provence.

One of the striking features is the free admission of apocrypha and their blending together in one *Bible*. These apocrypha do not appear *before* that

* Tractat Sotah, f. 13*b*.

period in the West, with the exception of England, where the *Evangelium Nicodemi* seems to have penetrated very early (eighth or ninth century), but which exercised no influence upon the surrounding literatures.

The Infancy Gospels are also of a recent date. Herman of Valenciennes, who was the first to versify the Bible, was also the first who versified the Gospels. Comestor did not know them; only a century later they were inserted in the *Speculum* of Vincentius.*

Not in orthodox, but in heterodox circles did the Apocryphal literature have its rise and development; and here also arose the *Bible Historiale*, whose appearance coincided strangely with a remarkable movement which took place at that time in France and throughout the centre of Europe.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century arose a society in Metz for the purpose of reading the Bible in the vernacular. Till that time the Bible was only known in the Latin translation of Hieronymus, being thus accessible only to the clergy, while the people were absolutely ignorant of it. The result of the reading and understanding the Bible was that the members of that society soon began to despise the priests and the bishops, whose deeds and doctrines did not at all harmonise with the teaching

* R. Rheinsch, die Pseudoevangelien in d. rom. u. germ. Literatur, Halle, 1879, pp, 7, 16–18.

of the Bible. The Bishop of Metz immediately denounced the society to Pope Innocent III., who first allowed the reading of the Bible in the vernacular, as there was no law which forbade it. The gap between the clerics and laymen consequently widened more and more, and threatened to become irreparable. This could never be in the interest of the Church; so the Bishop remonstrated energetically against it to the Pope, urging the adoption of a speedy remedy, as the members of the Bible-reading society rebelled also against the authority of the Pope himself. Innocent being compelled to do something in the matter, appointed a commission, consisting of the Bishop of Metz, the Abbot of Cistercium, and three other Abbots, to investigate it, and to examine the proceedings of that society.

The result was that the members of the Bible-reading society were convicted of being *heretics and their Bible was pronounced full of heretical contents.* In consequence thereof the society was dissolved and the Bible *burnt.* With this fact begins the persecution of the Bible in the vernacular by the Catholic Church, which finally decreed the prohibition of reading the Bible in the vernacular at the Council held at Toulouse in the year 1229. After this no layman dared read the Bible unless in Latin.*

This early date proves that at the beginning of

* Neander, Kirchengeschichte, 4th ed., Gotha, 1864, vol. viii. pp. 37–42.

the thirteenth century the Bible must have been widely circulated and eagerly read in the vernacular. Indeed, the translated Bible read by the society in Metz was an *imported* one, brought thither by the *Waldenses*, as is expressly stated.*

We are thus in possession of the link which connects the translation of the Bible into the vernacular and the circulation of it, with the heretical sects flourishing about that time, especially in the South of France.

There is now every evidence to prove the existence of such a translation, and the profound knowledge of it amongst the heretical sects, said by all the contemporary writers to be very well versed in the Bible.

This is a common characteristic for every dissenting movement which appears in the history of religion, and especially of the Christian Church. The separation is based upon and supported by the real or pretended better understanding of Holy Scripture. Without going into further details, already *Petrus Siculus*, speaking of the Paulicians in Asia Minor, asserts that even before their emigration from Armenia they possessed a translation of the Bible, and that their women were well acquainted with its contents. *Cedrenus* adds that they brought it with them, coming into the Byzantine empire.

* Neander, *l. c.*

That the Slavonians had the Bible translated at an early period has been often enough stated in these pages. In the year 1007 the heretical sects in the Occident were already accused of reading the Old and New Testament, only with polemical purposes, and with the intention of denying the truth therein contained. And finally, *Reinerius*, who is the chief source for our knowledge about the Albigenses, states that almost every heretic in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries knew at least the New Testament by heart in the vernacular.* And they not only knew the Bible in the vernacular, but also taught that the translated Bible had the same power as the Latin Bible.†

Internal evidence proves further that the oldest French Bible was not translated from the *Vulgate*, but from a *Greek* original, or from another which in its turn was translated from the Greek version of the LXX. One at least of the German texts—the others have not yet been studied from this point of view—is not derived from the Vulgate, but from another text, supposed by Schröder to be an older German; but this, lastly, is also not more than a translation, and a different one from the Vulgate.

The literary and missionary activity of the Albigenses is too well established to be doubted. We

* Faber, Waldenses, p. 400, No. 1, and p. 492.

† C. U. Hahn, Geschichte der Ketzer im Mittelalter, Stuttgart, 1845, vol. i. p. 94.

find already in 1025 the record of their schools, where they taught their doctrines and expounded the Bible.* The same Reinerius tells us that the *Cathari* had more schools than the theologians, and his own words are: "In almost every locality in Lombardy, Provence, and other places, their number exceeded by far that of the theologians, and they had more pupils, who disputed openly and induced the people to enter into discussions with them; and they preached in tents and fields, and nobody dared stop them, as they had powerful and numerous protectors. In the diocese of Padua alone they had more than forty-one schools, not counting those of Germany and France." †

At the same time the translation of the Bible into the vernacular was undertaken by Petrus Valdo (*c.* 1170), founder of the sect of the Waldenses, who is said to have paid two priests—*Stephan de Ansa* and *Bernhard Ydras*—for their work, as at his command they translated the Gospels and other Biblical books into the Romance language.‡ Soon afterwards (1179), that is, only *eight* years later, a deputation of the Waldenses waited upon the Pope, Alexander III., during the time when a Council was held in Rome, with the object of obtaining his approbation for a French translation of the Psalms with glosses, and several

* Faber, *l. c.*, p. 358 ff. † Ibid., *l. c.*, p. 361.
‡ Neander, *l. c.*, viii. p. 409; Faber, p. 456.

other parts of the Old and of the New Testament. *Gualterus Mapes*, who gives a graphic description of their appearance, was also appointed to discuss with them concerning their dogmas. The result was a scornful dismissal of their demand.*

There is no doubt, as is expressly stated, that the dismissed translation was not at all literal, but was amplified by *glosses*, that is, it was a paraphrastic translation.† Further noteworthy is the difference in the *wording* when the New and when the Old Testament is spoken of. The Old Testament is never mentioned *entirely;* only *parts* of it are translated, whilst generally the Gospels are wholly translated. This is easily explained when we bear in mind the form of the *Bible Historiale*, that the translation confined itself to the *historical parts*, leaving out the rest, and therefore is only spoken of *parts* of the Bible.

If we might draw a conclusion from the contemporary Jewish literature, the character of this paraphrastic Bible, or Bible with explanatory glosses, might have been somewhat similar to the text of the Bible together with the Commentary of R. Salomo Itzhaki (Rashi), who lived in Troyes, and died 1105, with the single difference that here all is written in Hebrew, while in the former case

* Faber, *l. c.*, p. 471.

† "Qui librum Domino Papæ præsentaverunt *lingua conscriptum gallica* in quo textus et *glossa* Psalterii plurimorumque Legis utriusque librorum continebatur."

all is translated. This Commentary, which may be considered as consisting of glosses to the Biblical text, is full of legendary explanations, drawn from the old Aggadic literature, and the influence it exercised even upon the Christian commentators is pretty well shown by the example of *Nicolas de Lyra*, who is greatly indebted to Rashi.

It is not my intention to follow out here the friendly relations which existed between the Jews and the heretical sects in France, and how far they mutually borrowed from each other. Suffice it to say, that many a zealous priest of the Catholic Church complained bitterly about this free intercourse.*

Returning to the Bible of the Waldenses and of the other sects, its contents must have been amplified by glosses of a legendary character, and no doubt contrasting with the dogmas of the ruling Church, as the Council of Metz declared it to be *heretical*, and condemned it to the pile.

This points clearly to our *Bible Historiale*, whose prominent peculiarity is the adoption to so large an extent of apocryphal tales and legends, which constitute its chief elements.

The diffusion of the apocryphal literature in Europe is due in a certain measure to the activity of the heretical sects, originating especially in the Middle Ages in Bulgaria, with which country they

* Neander, *l. c.*, viii. p. 43 ff.

never lost connection. Thence they also carried this literature to the West, and it is by no means an exaggeration to presume the original identity of the Western *Bible Historiale* with the *Palæa.*

The coincidence of so many facts brought under consideration is so striking, that there cannot be any other explanation for it than to assume the former unity, preserved even through the manifold changes which the *Bible Historiale* underwent in course of time and in different countries. The main features remained, and we have been able to trace the existence of such a *Bible Historiale* back to the twelfth century as the basis for the versified Bible, for the *Mystère,* and for the abbreviation in the three Romance dialects of Bearn, Provence, and Catalonia.

The crusade against the Albigenses broke down the poetical life of Provence, and at the same time stamped out every trace of the heretical literature. What wonder that the *Bible Historiale* suffered the fate encountered by all similar works. But the influence could not be totally obliterated, and even in the orthodox disguise we could recognise the old *Bible Historiale.*

. . . . . .

Merely as an additional remark, for it leaves a wide field for conjecture and special studies, I venture to give an explanation of the name of that illustrated Bible commonly called *Bible of the Poor.*

Up to the present day nobody has succeeded in either tracing the origin of that Bible or in explaining its name. Berjeau, if I am not mistaken, is the last who devoted a study to this question. (The later publication of Laib and Schwarz deals merely with the windows of Hirschau and the German texts of the *Biblia Pauperum*). He describes the *Biblia Pauperum* as follows:—

"The *Biblia Pauperum* is a set in the first edition of forty, and in the second of fifty woodcuts, disposed in three horizontal compartments, which we will call upper, middle, and lower, each being itself arranged in three vertical divisions, which may be distinguished as left, centre, and right, all divided from each other by an architectural framework, uniform alternately for all the *verso* and *recto* pages of the work.

"The left division of the upper compartment contains a number of lines (which are not rhythmical) in black letter, with very contracted abbreviations, in which the subject of the Old Testament immediately under is explained in few words, with a reference to the centre subject, taken from the New Testament.

"The right division contains likewise the explanation of the subject on the right, with its reference to the same subject of the New Testament represented in the centre of the page.

"The centre vertical division of the upper compartment represents a double window, with a prophet on each side of a central pillar. The name of the prophet is inscribed under his bust, which generally holds the end of a scroll, on which is written some sentence from that prophet, referring to the central subject.

"The middle horizontal compartment, with its three vertical divisions, forms the principal part of the woodcut, the left and right subjects being taken from the Old Testament, while the central subject is always taken from the New Testament; this latter only being in chronological order.

"The lower compartment contains, like the upper one, in the centre, in a double window, the busts of two prophets, each holding a scroll, with his name and a sentence taken from his prophecies, and referring to the centre subject. In the blank spaces on each side is a leonine verse explaining the subject above; while at the bottom of the page, immediately under the busts of the prophets, is another leonine verse explaining the central design." *

In order to make it clearer, I here give the translated contents of leaf v.

"*The Holy Family in Egypt.*—Upper compartment, left. "We read in the thirty-first and thirty-third chapters of Exodus that when Moses had come to the foot of Mount Sinai, he alone ascended the mountain to receive the Law; and when he had done this and was descending, he saw the molten calf which Aaron had made of gold. Moses himself having thrown away the Tables, destroyed the calf and broke it up; which well figured the idols falling in a heap when Christ entered Egypt."

Next to it the double window; at the left is the bust of the Prophet Hosea, with the inscription: 'He shall break down (their altars),' taken from Hosea x. 2. In the next window, to the right, is Nahum with the scroll: 'Out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image and the molten image' (Nahum i. 14). The next white square, forming the upper right compartment, con-

* Berjeau, Biblia Pauperum, London, 1859, pp. 3-4.

tains the following passage: 'We read in the first book of Samuel (chap. v.) that the Philistines had placed the ark of the Lord, that they had taken in war, near Dagon, their god. Those who entered the temple in the morning found Dagon lying on the ground, and both his hands broken off: which figure was truly fulfilled when the Blessed Virgin came with Christ, her child, into Egypt; then the idols of Egypt fell into a heap; and it figures the Virgin, who with Christ enters the state of trial into which infidels through error have collapsed.'

The middle is occupied by the three designs described, and underneath the lower compartment contains on the left front the leonine verse: 'By Moses the sacred image of the calf was destroyed.' Then the bust of Zachariah, with the inscription: 'I will cut off the names of the idols out of the earth' (Zach. xiii. 2). Next to it is the bust of Zephaniah, with the words: 'The Lord will famish all the gods of the earth' (Zeph. ii. 11). Above it is the other leonine verse, explaining the design: 'The ark is made the cause of the sudden ruin of Dagon.' And finally, at the bottom of the page, just under the lower double window, and thus under the design of the centre, is the third leonine verse: 'The idols fell swiftly when Christ was present.'"

Berjeau says further: "It would not be easy to

ascertain who was the author of the *Biblia Pauperum*, who conceived the idea of such a book, and who composed the three lines of poetry which explain the three subjects on each page. The rest of the text contained on both sides of the upper compartment is not rhythmical, as it has been said, but contains mere quotations from the Old Testament and Prophets with reference to the central subject taken from the New Testament." * Nevertheless, Berjeau † suggests that Vincentius of Beauvais might be the author of the text, on no other ground than that he is now acknowledged to be the author of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, which was likewise engraved and printed by the xylographer of Haarlem to whom the engravings of the *Biblia Pauperum* are attributed.

But before we enter into the study of this, for us, most important point, we will deal shortly with the history of this *Biblia Pauperum*, its date, and the origin of the drawings.

"It is pretty certain that the author or copyist of this text was not the artist who made the designs. The circumstance that there are sensible variations between the drawing of the subject and its Latin explanations shows sufficiently that the artist did not understand the literal meaning of the Latin text." ‡ This text belongs, therefore, to an earlier period, and the original manuscript may be traced

* *Loc. cit.*, p. 5. † *Loc. cit.*, p. 23. ‡ *Loc. cit.*, p. 5.

to the twelfth or thirteenth century, as the leonine verse and the abbreviations used in the text point clearly to that period.

The costumes of the block-book announce a more recent period, namely, 1410–20. The conclusion at which Berjeau arrives as to the time when this first block-book arose, and the circumstances to which it owes its origin, is :‡ "By its architectural framework our block-book may be said to belong to the Tuscan school, as illustrated in the Duomo di Orvieto, in Santa Maria di Toscanella, in San Ministo di Firenze. The drawings, imitated from the fresco paintings of Italian convents, most likely by John van Eyck, ornamented some costly MS. before being engraved on wood by some of the *figuersnyders* so numerous in the Netherlands at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. The block-book was afterwards the model on which were made and painted the windows of the celebrated Convent of Hirschau, and was the starting-point of numberless imitations by the early German painters and wood and metal engravers, such as Springinklee, Albert Dürer, Schäuffelein, Hans Hemmling, &c."

Other reproductions of later periods have sometimes changed these drawings. I will not attempt here to enter into the difficult and unsettled question as to the origin of those Italian wall-paintings which

‡ *Loc. cit.*, p. 11.

served as a model for the block-book. How did this kind of picture arise just in a place and in a time at which a strong religious, or more properly heterodox, movement was prevalent in that country? How was it that it was just there that art for the first time emancipated itself from the official Byzantine influence? Tischendorf has dwelt at length on another very interesting point, viz., when and how far did the *apocryphal* tales creep into the Christian art of painting? Traces of this are also extant in our block-book; for instance, on folio 2, where the *ox* and *ass* are drawn standing near the crib in which Christ is lying, though no mention is made of them in the Gospels. They are derived from the apocryphal Gospel of Infancy. Or on folio 6, the story of the fall of the idols in Egypt, related above, and so forth.

This and other similar questions must be left for the moment undecided, and so also the question as to whether there was not an illustrated block-book or MS. older than that now known, and which underwent the same refinement and change through John van Eyck as was effected in the case of his drawings by his followers.

There is no doubt, however, that the original text is much older; and yet some have tried to explain the name *Biblia Pauperum*, or *Bible of the Poor*, as the name given to the block-book, which was naturally cheaper than the illustrated MS.,

and therefore termed the "Bible of the Poor," as every man was enabled to buy it. But whoever is acquainted, however slightly, with the prices such works fetched in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would immediately recognise that even in the shape of a block-book such a book was by far too dear to be bought by a poor man. The name must be, therefore, of quite a different origin, and was surely the name of the *text* itself, which is a kind of abridged Bible, and served as a basis for the later or contemporary drawings.

Indeed, if we look more accurately into this text, we again find the elements of the *Bible Historiale*, with the same characteristic opposition of the Old to the New Testament, and fulfilment in the latter of the predictions given in the former. What is more, out of *eighty* texts which form the forty pages, two in the upper compartment of each page, not less than *seventy-six* are taken from the Old Testament, and especially from the following books:— Twenty-one from Genesis (fol. 1, 5, 8, 10 *bis*, 12, 16, 17 *bis*, 18, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33, 34, 38, 39); six from Exodus (2, 6, 9, 18, 26, 35); one from Leviticus (4); four from Numbers (2, 9, 13, 25); one from Deuteronomy (38); four from Judges (28, 29, 33); twelve from Samuel (3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 16, 21, 28, 37); fourteen from Kings (3, 7, 11 *bis*, 14, 19 *bis*, 22, 23, 24, 34, 35, 36, 37); two from Jonah (27, 29); three from Daniel

(12, 22, 31); three from Song of Solomon (30, 31, 40); one from Ezra (15); one from Esther (36); one from Job (39); two from Maccabees (15, 21); whilst from the New Testament there are one from Matthew (20); one from Luke (32); and two from the Apocalypse (20, 40).

From this proportion we see that *all the texts, without any exception,* are taken from the *historical books* of the Bible only, like those of which the *Bible Historiale* is composed, and *none* from the Prophets.

The text itself closely resembles that examined by us as the *Bible Historiale.* Thus we again find here the identification of Joseph with Christ. Joseph is further sold for *thirty pieces of silver,* which clearly denotes that the author did not take the passage directly from the canonical Bible, but from an uncanonical source, here the *Bible Historiale.* The quotations are also never literal, but are rather contractions of the Holy Writ, just as they are to be found in the above-named book.

To these internal evidences as to the origin of this *short Bible* is also added the name it bears as *Biblia Pauperum.*

The Waldenses were best known under the name of the *Poor of Lyons* (*Pauperes Lugdunenses*). Under this name they appeared at the Council in Rome, and under the same name they became famous for centuries.

Many a common point between their Bible and their *Noble Leyczon* induces me to ascribe to them also the authorship of this short Biblical treatise, perhaps from the beginning already accompanied with rough sketches, out of which arose the later more refined drawings. And so it got the name of *Biblia Pauperum*, or the "Bible of the Poor," viz., the Bible of *the Poor of Lyons*, preserved as such until the present time.

It is not without interest to notice that nearly all the first block-books deal with subjects favoured in the highest degree by the heretical sects, and became popular books. Thus the *Antichrist*, the *Legend of the Cross*, the *Apocalypse of St. John*, are among the oldest block-books, all containing subjects with which we have become familiar in the course of these pages.

The identification of the *Poor* with the Waldenses, or the *Poor of Lyons*, is not only not far-fetched, as it might seem at the first glance, but is also the only plausible explanation of the title, as it explains at the same time the origin of the book.

APPENDIX B.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GLAGOLITIC ALPHABET.

DOBROVSKY, the founder of Slavonic philology, at the close of the last century for the first time drew attention to a mode of writing employed in some Slavonic books totally different from the Cyrillian. This question was vigorously taken up by Kopitar when he published in 1836 the Slavonic text written with such characters, and known thenceforth under the name of "*Glagolita Clozianus.*"

The problem which presented itself thus to the students of Slavonic philology was to ascertain the date and the probable origin of this long-forgotten or totally neglected alphabet.

The most opposite views were taken upon the matter, and a discussion ensued which lasted nearly half a century, till at least one point was generally agreed upon, viz., the greater age of the Glagolitic alphabet and its priority to the Cyrillian.

The reasons brought forward are twofold: philological and palæographical. A close inquiry into the nature of the language represented by the Glago-

litic texts proves it to be of the most archaic form, and to approach as closely as possible that language which is considered by Professor Miklosich to be the basis of the so-called Church Slavonic or Old Slavonic language—the Slavonic dialect, namely, into which the Apostles Cyril and Method are said to have translated the Bible for the first time. In these Glagolitic texts are thus preserved the oldest specimens of the Slavonic literature, whilst the language of the Cyrillian text is more modern, and already contains traces of dialectic influences, chiefly Bulgarian peculiarities, as is only natural, when we remember the rise and development of the Slavonic literature in Bulgaria. Among these texts we do not find anything of so hoar an antiquity as some of the Glagolitica possess, where one or another is considered to be no more than a hundred years distant from the lifetime of the apostles.

So far the philological reason. To this the palæographical now comes as a powerful support. Just as we find in the West of Europe *palimpsests*, that is, parchments which have been written upon twice, the first writing having been erased, so we find them in the Slavonic literature, and the peculiar thing is, that the *first* writing has always been a Glagolitical, which was erased and a *new* Cyrillian text written upon it. Never up to the present day has the contrary been discovered. We know of no

instance in which a Glagolitical text has been written upon a primitive Cyrillian.

For these two reasons the Glagolitza, as we will in future term this alphabet, calling the other Cyrillitza, is now universally accepted to be the older alphabet, superseded in a later period by a more modern, which usurped its name, and not the opposite of this, as was formerly believed. The palimpsests also show that the Cyrillian writers had Glagolitical texts at hand.

The next question is *the origin* of this alphabet. Is it a primitive one or a derived? and if the latter, whence is it derived, and on what model is it formed?

My purpose is here only to enter into the discussion of the origin of the Glagolitza, and not into the history and development of the Glagolitic literature, that is, of the works written and published in these characters. I confine myself to the characters themselves, to point out their peculiarity, endeavouring to give a new solution to this oft discussed problem.

We have to consider first the *forms* of the letters, and then the order in which they are arranged. Of minor importance, and yet still important, are the curious names the letters of this alphabet possess. The difficulty of explaining the names and the order of the Cyrillitza, as these are identical with the Glagolitza, was no less in former

times when the Glagolitza was unknown. Moreover, the form of some letters of the Cyrillian alphabet was puzzling, as their origin could not easily be traced.

As regards this alphabet, it is now proved that the main part of it was taken from the Greek uncial writing, and the signs employed for sounds strange to the Greek are due to the Glagolitza, whence they were borrowed by the later compiler of this alphabet, who, as it seems to be, was St. Clemens († 916) in Bulgaria, for in his biography it is expressly stated "that he invented other clearer letters than those which were invented by the wise Cyrill" (*ἐσοφίσατο καὶ χαρακτῆρας ἑτέρους γραμμάτων πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον ἤ ὅνς ἐξεῦρεν ὁ σοφός Κύριλλος*).* The Greek literature and the Greek writing were generally known in Bulgaria at that period, and it was only natural to adopt the better known signs for their own language than to adopt an entirely new alphabet, as the Glagolitic was, taking from this only the signs not wanting in the Greek alphabet,—just as was done many centuries before, under the same circumstances and at the same spot—in Bulgaria—by Bishop Ulfilas when he invented the so-called Gothic alphabet.

Not so, however, with the order and the names of the letters; *they* were both transferred from one

* Miklosich, Algemeine Encyclopædie, Ersch und Gruber, vol. lxviii. 1859, p. 413.

to the other; the Glagolitza was changed into the Cyrillitza with respect only to what belongs to the form; the rest remained unchanged. The letters of the alphabet serve further as ciphers indicating the numbers, the value depending upon the place the letter occupies in the alphabet. By this numerical value attributed to the letters the order of the alphabet has been maintained.

More complete than the Cyrillitza is the Glagolitza, which numbers forty signs, as the plate at the end of the book shows. There are the forms of both alphabets, together with others to which I shall refer hereafter.

I now give the name of every letter, with its translation, numerical value, and pronunciation, indicating at the same time which letter does not exist in the Cyrillitza and *vice versa*. The number assigned to them corresponds entirely with the number in the plate, and is the same as that adopted by Kopitar and Miklosich :—

1. azŭ : ego, 1, a.
2. bukŭvi : littera, 2, b.
3. vêdê : scio, 3, v.
4. glagoli : loquere, 4, g.
5. dobro : bonum, 5, d.
6. esti : est, 6, e.
7. živête : vivite, 7, ž (English j).
8. zêlo : valde, 8, dz.
9. zemiya : terra, 9, z.
10. iže : qui, 10, i.
11. i 20, i.

12. dya 30, dy (only Glagol.)
13. kako: quomodo, 40, k.
14. lyudiye: homines, 50, l.
15. myislete: cogitate, 60, m.
16. naši: noster, 70, n.
17. onŭ: ille, 80, o.
18. pokoy: quies, 90, p.
19. rĭci: dic, 100, r.
20. slovo: verbum, 200, s.
21. tvrŭdo: durum, 300, t.
22. ukŭ: doctrina (?), 400, u.
23. frŭtŭ 500, f (ph).
24. chêrŭ: 600, h.
25. otŭ: ab, 700, ō.
26. šta 800, št (sht).
27. ci 900, c (tz).
28. črŭvi: vermis, 1000, č (ch).
29. ša: š (sh).
30. yerŭ: ŭ (a dull sound).
31. yerŭy: ŭy.
32. yerĭ: ĭ.
33. êti ê (a kind of *yea*).
34. yusŭ: yu.
35. ya } (only Cyrill.)
36. ye }
37. (ęn) ę } (nasal vowels).
38. (ąn) ą }
39. yę.
40. yą.
41. x (only Cyrill.)
42. ps (only Cyrill.)
43. th.
44. ū.

The translation is given after Miklosich. The strange mixture of substantives, adverbs, and verbs, in different moods and tenses, indicates clearly that

they must be corruptions of words not understood by the people, who tried to bring them nearer to their own understanding by the well-known process of popular etymology. They became *Slavonised*, if I may coin such a term.

This increased the perplexity, and thwarted every effort made to solve the problem; but even greater was the difficulty with regard to the form.

It would be useless to summarise here all that has been said on this subject.

Professor Miklosich, with his usual thoroughness and mastery of his subject, has summed up the whole matter and given the entire bibliography.* His opinion, of course, is of the greatest weight. He proves the absolute dependence of the Cyrillitza upon the Glagolitza, and considers the latter to be the alphabet used by the apostles of the Slavonians themselves. In order to explain why they accepted such a complicated alphabet, Professor Miklosich suggests that it may have previously existed and been in use among the Slovenes, and that therefore Cyril and Method adopted it. "Nevertheless," says Professor Miklosich, "this alphabet is not a primitive and invented, but an *adopted* alphabet, taken over from somewhere else," without, however, giving us the slightest hint as to the alphabet from whence it was derived.

* Allgemeine Encyclopædie of Ersch und Gruber, vol. lxviii., 1859, pp. 403–422, *s. v.* Glagolitisch.

The decisive point of his utterance is that the Glagolitza is an alphabet originally destined for another language, and in later times adapted to the Slavonian.

From this point of view only can we explain the superfluous richness of signs observable in the enumeration above. They were necessary in the original, serving for the expression of some language very rich in sounds, and taken over entirely as it was, and adapted to the expression of the Slavonic alphabet, itself very rich, but not nearly so much so as the other.

This must be the starting-point of our inquiry. That many have endeavoured to ascertain the origin of the Glagolitza has already been mentioned. Professor Miklosich reviews these opinions, and his condemnation renders it unnecessary for us to reiterate them and refute them. But after the publication of that essay by Professor Miklosich there appeared two other attempts, with which I will now deal shortly.

The first is that of Mr. Taylor, who suggests that the Greek cursive alphabet and the combination of signs in the tachygraphical writing of the Greek might have served as a model for the Glagolitic. The comparison, however, shows such a complicated mode of passing from one into the other, that on formal grounds alone this idea must be rejected. To this may further be added the fact

that sounds like *sh*, *ch*, *j*, and others not existing in the Greek could not be borrowed from these, even not as combinations of letters. σχ retained for ever its sound as σχ, and only nowadays do we decompose the combined sounds into their elements by physiological inquiries into the nature of human speech, a process unheard of in ancient times, when for each *sound one simple* sign was used.

Not much better is the theory of Geitler, who developed it in an elaborate and otherwise very remarkable treatise.* He assumes that the strange alphabet from which the Glagolitza is derived was an old autochthonous Albanian alphabet, preserved to the present time in a mutilated form in some Albanian manuscripts. Not only the form of the characters, but also their names are derived from the Albanian. The first part has been thoroughly annihilated by the profound criticism of Professor Jagić;† and as to the names, it will suffice to show that some of them, considered by Geitler to be Albanian, are *Turkish* elements of a very recent origin, later than the fourteenth century, and therefore impossible to be of such an age as to be adopted by Cyril in the eighth century, that is, six centuries before. So, for instance, Albanian *meseletă*, from which he derives Slavonic *myslete*, is plural of *mesel*, Turkish, Arabic, and Hebrew *mashal*; Albanian *lula*

* L. Geitler, Die Albanesischen und Slavischen Schriften, Wien, 1883.
† Archiv für Slav. Philologie.

is the Turkish *luleh*, pipe, with the same meaning, and has nothing whatsoever to do with *lyudye*, &c.*

Once agreed upon that point, that the Glagolitza is taken from another people, my view is that we must seek to find at the time when Cyril flourished such an alphabet, rich in sounds and not so far distant, that it could not easily be reached or known by Cyril.

Some, induced by an apparent similarity between the Glagolitic *sh* and *ge* with the Coptic, sought the origin in the latter; but, in addition to the difficulty of proving Cyril's acquaintance with the Coptic, there is, moreover, no further similarity among all the remainder, consisting of thirty-eight signs. This view may therefore be disregarded. The *Latin* and *Greek*, through the scantiness of sounds, and therefore of signs and difference of form and order, also need not be brought under consideration, and it is quite another direction to which I turn in order to find the probable prototype of the Glagolitza.

Nobody has up till now taken into consideration the *Armenian* alphabet and the other kindred alphabet of *Georgia*, so rich in sounds and signs, that they are unequalled and unsurpassed by any others.

The relationship and dependence of the Glagolitza upon this or another alphabet akin to it of

* v. Geitler, *l. c.*, pp. 168–171.

those regions is now for me beyond any doubt, and I will endeavour to prove it in the following pages.

Let us first examine the historical conditions and establish the connection between Cyril and these alphabets.

As it has been said above (p. 136), Cyril was brought up at the court of Constantinople, receiving the best education, and his knowledge of Eastern languages was especially praised. One of the most important Eastern languages of the time was the Armenian, the language of a rich literature and a powerful Church, often mixed up with ecclesiastical disputes, and playing an important *rôle* in the history of Manichæism. It is further noteworthy that the Armenians sent emissaries everywhere challenging the orthodox, and the halls of the palace in Byzantium resounded often enough with their speeches and disputes.

There is no doubt that Cyril, the learned monk, who himself was sent later on as an emissary to the Khazars, and who took part at the conversion of the Pannonian Slavonians, must have known this language, spoken at the gates of Constantinople.

It is no matter of consequence to ask now the origin of the Armenian alphabet itself, but even the history of this invention is so striking an analogy to the history of the Glagolitza, that it is

worth while to mention it here briefly, the more so as it also explains the apparent similarity between Coptic and Glagolitic characters.

All the native writers are unanimous in ascribing the invention of the present Armenian alphabet to the Bishop Mesrup (fifth century), who succeeded by these means in freeing himself from the Greek influence and establishing a genuine Armenian Church and literature. He first translated the Bible into the Armenian language, thus forming the basis for the new literature.

There are now different views as to the question of the model taken by Mesrup for his new alphabet. I, for my own part, derive it in its essential parts, against the opinion of Mr. F. Müller,* from the Zendic alphabet of the neighbouring Persians, with which the Armenians were avowedly well acquainted. One single glance suffices to show the similarity between these two alphabets. But the Zendic is poor in signs, as the Persian dialect has not so many sounds, and this want had to be supplied from other sources. The chief source was here the *Coptic* alphabet. If we remember that some of Mesrup's prominent pupils, Moses of Chorene, the famous Armenian chronicler, and others, spent a long time in Alexandria, then the difficulty arising from the distance between Armenia and Egypt is easily removed. For they had

* Sitzungsberichte of the Academy of Vienna, vol. xlviii. pp. 431–438.

been sent by their master to collate the oldest Greek manuscripts of the Bible preserved in the great library of Alexandria, with their translation into Armenian. The only alphabet of a Christian people rich in signs, and thus serving their purpose, was the Coptic, and so they took from it the elements wanting to complete their own new alphabet.

From Armenia this alphabet spread to the North, and was soon adopted by the Georgians, who adapted it to their own requirements, also changing here and there the shape of the letters; for instead of being angular with sharp corners, they rounded the edges and added spirals and flourishes. This makes that alphabet somewhat more similar to the Glagolitza, also characterised by its spirals and flourishes.

The same alphabet no doubt also spread in South Russia, and most probably was known in the empire of the Khazars, at that time very powerful, and having a language—judging from the other Turko-Turanian languages to which this belonged —rich in both vowels and consonants.

It is at least remarkable to find in a peculiar Greek alphabet of Mariupol, discovered by the late Dr. Blau,* the characteristic letter *sh* represented in the same way as in the Armenian alphabet,

* Zeitschrift der Deutsch Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. xxviii. pp. 562-576, and vol. xxix. 166-167.

which is the same as we have noted here in the Glagolitza, and hence in the Cyrillitza.

Our investigation would be much furthered if anything written in the *Khazaric* characters had been preserved, such as it was used by them in their proceedings. Unfortunately we have only, and this in a more modern copy, the *Hebrew* letter sent by the Khazars to Hisdai ibn Shaprut in Spain. Also of Khazaric origin, and this time genuine, I consider, is another Hebrew manuscript, recently discovered and described by Professor Harkavy, who does not, however, recognise its origin, and considers it, without any internal proof, to be from Crete. As it was a well-known alphabet, and a Biblical text, there was no need to introduce any different letter, as is the case when writing down, even with the same characters, other foreign words or names. It is therefore difficult to prove the influence of a genuine alphabet. Nevertheless, I think that, for instance, the peculiar flourished *m* can be traced only to such an influence, as it offers in the way of its upward spiral a striking resemblance to the Armenian and Georgian *m*.

What further induces me to see in this MS. a text written by a *Khazar* is that there is no difference made between *ch* (*cheth*) and *h* (*he*), unknown also to the Karaïms, who are surely remnants of the Khazars, and so forth.

If I have insisted especially upon this point, it

is because the life of Cyril is also intimately connected with the Khazars, as he was sent thither by the Emperor to convert them to Christianity.

His biography describes with many details his stay at the court, and the disputations he had there with Jews and Mohammedans.

Here, no doubt, already more or less acquainted with the Armenian, he came across another similar alphabet, and when he decided to compose a special alphabet for his Slavonic translations, he only adopted this alphabet as the most fitting for its purpose. He followed also at the same time the example given by Mesrup centuries before. In this connection we can now explain the hitherto unknown origin of the Glagolitic alphabet, and we proceed to a minute examination to ascertain how far the historical explanation is backed by the similarity between the Glagolitza and an alphabet closely resembling the Armenian and Georgian.

If we now consider the *forty* signs of the Glagolitical alphabet in the annexed plates, we can easily detach at least *seven* as composed from two other primitive elements, thus reducing the total number of signs to thirty-three. The composed are the following:—No. 22, out of 17 + 30; 26, of 29 + 21; 31, of 30 + 10; 38, of 17 + 37; 39, of 11 + 37 or of 6 + 37; 40, of 10 + 37 or 30 + 37 (Miklosich); and, finally, 34, which seems to be composed of

30 + 17; this latter turned on one side. Nos. 30 and 32 seem originally to be identical, but we leave that for the moment unsettled. The elements of combination are the vowels *i*, *ĭ* (*ŭ*), *ǫ*, *ę*, forming the peculiar Slavonic *preyoted* vowels. No. 26 is simply composed of the two elements *sh* − *t*.

It is now noteworthy that the vowel *u* is formed of *o* and *u*. We have further two doublets, viz., Nos. 8 and 9, both representing a similar (*z*) sound, and Nos. 10 and 11, both *i*. In this alphabet there are also two signs for *o*, Nos. 17 and 25; and what is more curious, No. 24, when compared with No. 4, both *g*, although Miklosich admits a difference between the two sounds. All these peculiarities point clearly to a foreign origin, where the alphabet consisted of at least the same number of signs, and where none of these signs were doublets, each of them representing a distinct sound.

If we now examine the Armenian alphabet, we shall find it composed of *thirty-six* letters, out of which *three* represent peculiar Armenian sibilants, not to be met with in any other language, and not to be distinguished from three other sibilants, except by a stronger pronunciation. These are rightly considered to be doublets of *č*, *ž*, and *tz*, and therefore left out, and we have thus the exactly corresponding number of *thirty-three* letters, representing, as we shall soon see, the same sounds as the characters of the Glagolitza. The similarity also extends to the

curious facts noticed above. To begin with the vowels, we find in the Armenian, too, the dull vowels *ŭ*, *ŭ* (Glagol., Nos. 30, 32), and the characteristic *ê* (= No. 33); we find further twice *o* (= Nos. 17, 25), and twice *i* (= Nos. 10, 11), just as in the Glagolitza, and also that *one* of the *i* signs is equally employed as the consonant *y*, as No. 10 is employed in the combination of Nos. 31 and 40. No. 31 has an exact parallel in the Armenian *ey*. In the Armenian we have also a combined sign for *u*, consisting of *o* and *u*, like the Greek *o-v*, and exactly the same in the Glagolitza No. 22. The likeness in this case goes much farther even, for, as Professor Miklosich observes,* in old MSS. this letter is sometimes written with the two signs of *o* (No. 17), and in the same way the Armenian *w* is nothing else but the reduplication of the same sign *u*, a concordance which under no circumstances can be considered as a merely accidental one.

We pass now to the consonants, and see that we have in the Armenian *all* the consonants of the Glagolitza. By this similitude we are even enabled to settle two difficult questions as to the value of No. 8 and the much disputed No. 12. To the former corresponds the Armenian *dz*, and when used in the Cyrillian transcription in Roumanian texts, that sign actually indicates this sound. With regard to the latter, we identify it with the peculiar

* *Loc. cit.*, p. 404.

Armenian thus described by Lepsius.* "The letter Ղ is now pronounced everywhere as the Arabic *ghain* غ, although it is proved that it was in many cases formerly, and still in the fifth century, a kind of soft and more palatal *l*, distinguished from the stronger and more guttural *l*, the value of which is now that of our common *l*."† That is to say, that in the eighth century it represented a special kind of *g*. Supporting this is the view of Miklosich, who assigned the same phonetical value to that Glagolitic sign.

Nearly the same thing is to be noted in the Georgian alphabet, which, although a little different in minor points, affords on the whole a much greater similarity to the Glagolitza. According to the wants of the language, the number of signs was increased to thirty-eight, but five represent aspirates, which being excluded, leave just thirty-three letters, corresponding to the Glagolitza. We notice further the compound *u*, composed of *o* and *v*, as in the former. We have here too the peculiar *g*, and everything mentioned in discussing the Armenian. But what is especially characteristic is the order of the letters in this alphabet, which, I may say, is exactly the same as in the Glagolitza,

* Standard Alphabet, 2d edit., 1863, p. 134.

† *Cf.* also Hübschmann, Ueber Aussprache und Umschreibung des Altarmenischen. Zeitschrift d. D. M. G., vol. xxx. 1870, pp. 53-73; and Gardthausen, Ueber den griechischen Ursprung des armenischen Alphabetes, *ibid.*, pp. 74-80.

and this is the second point on which we are now going to touch in pursuing our inquiry as to the relation of the Glagolitza to these alphabets. The system followed in the arrangement of the Georgian alphabet is that first come the letters corresponding to the Semitic (Hebrew, Phœnician), then the Greek *o-υ*, *φ*, *χ*, and last of all the specific Georgian sounds. Hence the presence of *v* (consonant) at the beginning of the alphabet, at the same place where the Hebrew *vau* stands, between *e* and *z*, while the order is a little disturbed between *n* and *r*, where *y* (short *ie*) is introduced instead of *s*, and *q* left out, which is added at the end. Here all the kindred sounds are arranged after their affinity, the gutturals together and the sibilants together; and the whole list finishes with two signs, given in the transcription of Brosset as *haë* and *hoë*.*

Almost identical with this is the order of the letters in the Glagolitza. Only in the Georgian and in the latter we find the *v* at the beginning of the alphabet, although not in exactly the same place. The difference to be observed in the Glagolitza comes from the system of its arranger, who, following his original, grouped the kindred sounds together, so that we have *v* and *b*; *z*, *dz*, and *z*; *i* and *i*; *g* and *k*; *tz*, *ch*, and *sh*; *u*, *uy*, and *i*, and all the peculiar signs at the end; the simple, as well as their

* P. Brosset, *Elements de la langue georgienne*, Paris, 1837, p. 45; *cf.* Lepsius, *l. c.*, pp. 138–140.

combinations with *y*, and lastly the *ę* and *ą*, corresponding, as I believe, exactly to the Georgian *haë* and *hoë*. If we now disregard the derangement caused by this classification, we find the alphabet in general following exactly the same line as the Georgian, with which it corresponds; also in the numerical value of the letters, varying only little from it, for the same cause.

This shows a coincidence which, as I repeat, can under no circumstances be accidental, and proves, on the other hand, that the Glagolitza is not merely a *copy*, but a calculated adaptation from a model closely resembling the Georgian and Armenian, being nearer to the former, but not entirely different from the latter. In the annexed plate I now, in conclusion, also give the graphic proof of the formal identity or resemblance. To each Glagolitic letter I have compared that which closely resembles it, taken from the two alphabets, the Georgian and Armenian, to which I have joined the transcription.

In expressing this my view as to the origin of the Glagolitic alphabet, I have confined myself only to probabilities, and have neither ventured to engage in rash surmises, nor endeavoured to explain *every* difficulty. I renounced, therefore, the task of tracing also the origin of the names of the letters, and I have left their explanation to others,

I, for my own part, seeing in them undoubted corruptions from a foreign language.

It was sufficient for me to approach the whole question from a direction quite different to any that has hitherto been taken by scholars, and to settle the more important part—the origin of the form and order of the Glagolitic alphabet.

THE END.

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GLAGOLITIC (CYRILLIAN).				GEORGIAN.			ARMENIAN MODERN AND OLD PRONUNCIATION.		
1	ⰰ	ⰰ	a	ა	ა	a	ա	a	a
2	ⰱ	(ⰲ)	b	ბ	ბ	b	բ	b	p
3	ⰲ		v	გ		v (w)	վ	v	u
4	ⰳ	ⰳ	g	დ		g	գ	g	k
5	ⰴ	ⰴ	d	ე		d	դ	d	t
6	ⰵ	ⰵ	e	ვ		ē	ե	e	e
7	ⰶ	ⰶ	ž	ზ	ჱ	dz	զ	ž	ʒ
8	ⰷ	ⰷ	dz	თ	ი	ʒ	է	dz	ts
9	ⰸ	ⰸ	z	ი		z	ը	dz	ts
10	ⰹ	ⰹ	i	კ	ლ	ë			
11	ⰺ	ⰺ	i	ლ		ī	թ	ž	ž
12	ⰻ	ⰻ	dy (ǧ)	მ	(ჳ ყ ė)	k'	ժ	ǧ	k'
13	ⰼ	ⰼ	k	ნ	(ჴ kh)	k	ի	x	x
14	ⰽ	ⰽ	l				լ	l	l
15	ⰾ		m	ო		m	խ	m	m
16	ⰿ		n						
17	ⱀ	ⱀ	o	პ		o	ծ	ō	ō
18	ⱁ	ⱁ	p				կ	p	b
19	ⱂ	ⱂ	r	ჟ		r	հ	r	r
20	ⱃ		s	რ			ձ	s	s
21	ⱄ	ⱄ	t	ს		t	ղ	t	d
22	ⱅ	ⱅ	ū (ou)	ტ		ū (ou)	ճ	u	(ou)

GLAGOLITIC (CYRILLIAN).				GEORGIAN.		ARMENIAN MODERN AND OLD PRONUNCIATION.		
23	ⱘ	Ф	f (ph)	Ⴔ	ph	Փ	Ֆ	Ֆ
24	ⱁ		h	Ⴣ	ḥ	Հ	հ	հ
25	Ⱁ	Ѳ	ō			Օ	Ō	Ō
26	ⱎⱏ	Ѱ	št					
27	ⱝ	(Ч)	tz	Ⴖ	tz	Ձ	ծ	ձ
28	ⱍ	(Ч)	č	Ⴟ	č'	Ճ	ձ	č
29	Ⱎ		š					
30	ⱄ.I	(Ъ.ь)	ŭ (ĭ)	Ⴘ	(ъ hae) hoe	Ը	ը	ը
31	ⱄⱏ	(ЪІ)	ŭy					
32	ⱄ	(ь.ъ)	ĭ (ŭ)	Ⴘ	(ъ hae) hoe	Ր	ը	ը
33	Ⱑ	(Ѣ)	ê	Ⴙ	y	Ե	ê	ê
34	Ⱂ	(Ю)	yu			(Իւ	yu	yu)
35		(Ⱁ)	ya					
36		(Ⱑ)	ye					
37	Ⱅ	Ⱑ	e	Ⴗ	vič			
38	ⱄⱑ	ⱘⱑ	ạ					
39	ⱘⱑ		ye					
40	ⱒⱑ	ⱘⱑ	yạ					
41		(Х)	h					
42	Ⱁ	(Ѱ)	ps					
43	Ⱁ	(Ѳ)	th					
44	Ⱄ	(оу)	ū (ou)					

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